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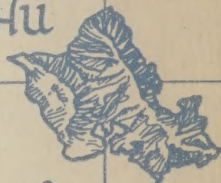
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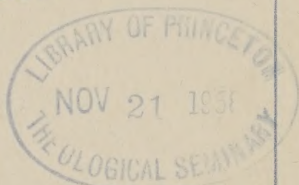
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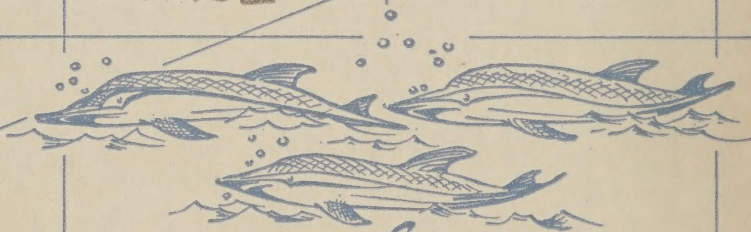
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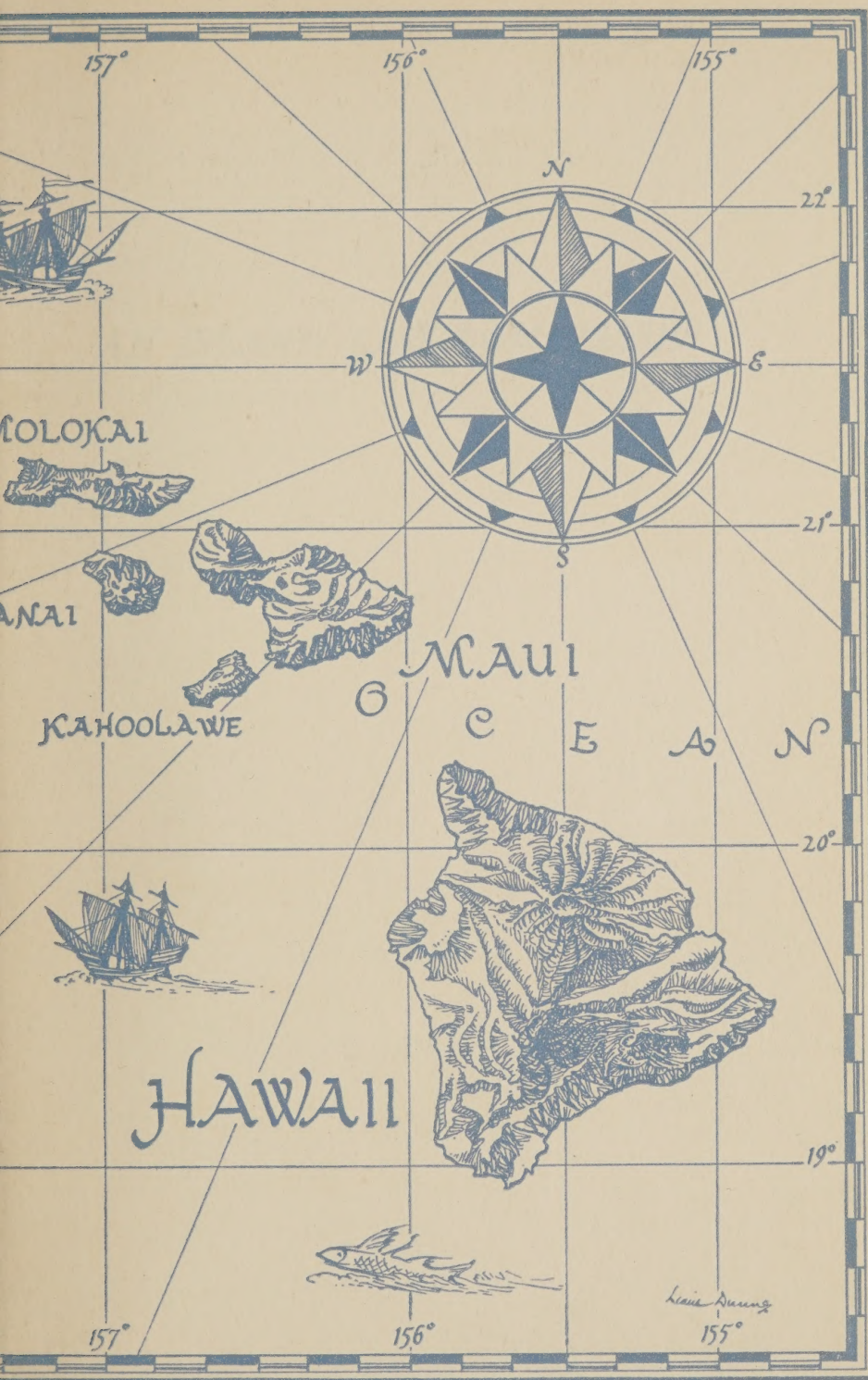
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*AN ISLAND KINGDOM PASSES*



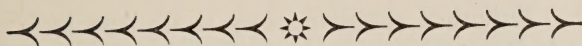




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*An Island Kingdom*

# PASSES



Hawaii Becomes American

by

KATHLEEN DICKENSON MELLE<sup>✓</sup>N



HASTINGS HOUSE, *Publishers*  
*NEW YORK*

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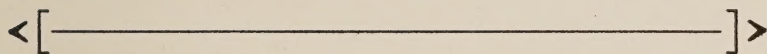
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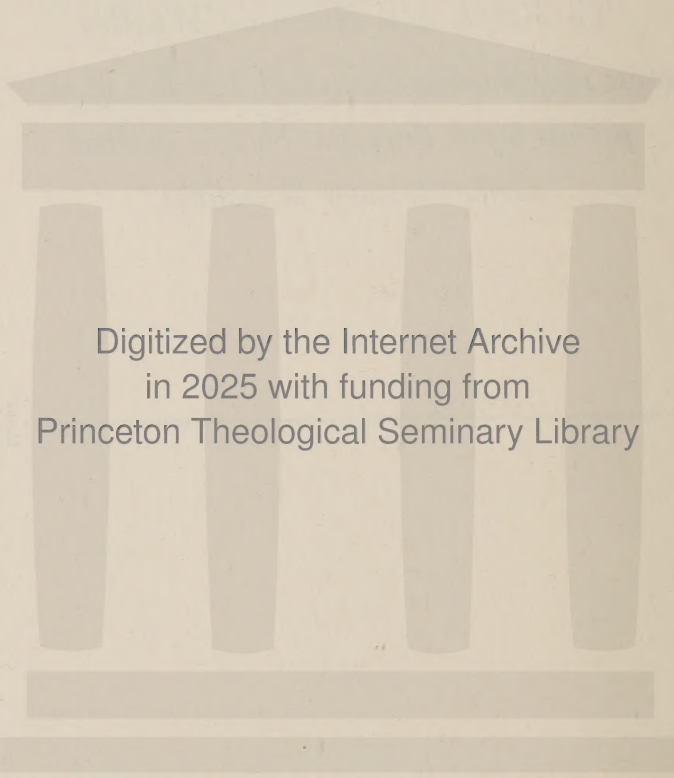
*Printed in the United States of America*



*To Ralph and Romania Woolley*

*whose understanding leadership, like that of their  
parents before them, has brought spiritual  
comfort to many Hawaiians*





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“The land is the only living thing. Men are mortal.  
The land is a mother that never dies.”

—Polynesian epigram







## Author's Note

WITH this volume I close a tetralogy of Hawaiian history from the birth of Kamehameha the Great in 1758 to 1898 when the puppet Republic of Hawaii was annexed to the United States as a territory. Opening the historical series *The Lonely Warrior* presented the first Kamehameha, a truly imposing figure whose genius won the respect of world leaders in that era during which he federated the Islands and ruled them as a mid-Pacific empire in a manner to win admiration that endures to this day.

Next, *The Magnificent Matriarch*, who was Kaahumanu, Favorite Wife of Kamehameha I, continues the narrative with her role of *kuhina nui*, which he created to make her coruler with his son Kamehameha II. Third in the series, *The Gods Depart*, narrates the turmoil and tragedy attending increase of foreign influence on affairs of the kingdom during the reigns of Kamehameha III, IV, and V and the end of the Kamehameha Dynasty with the death of the latter in 1872.

The present book, *An Island Kingdom Passes*, carries the drama from the advent of King Lunalilo, elected successor to Kamehameha V, on through the Kalakaua Dynasty, overthrow of the monarchy in 1893, and adoption of the little Island nation by America.

Twenty years of painstaking research preceded the writing of my first book as I searched in the files of the Government Archives of Hawaii, the Bernice Pauahi Bishop Museum, world center of collected Polynesian lore, the Hawaiian Historical Society, and the Library of Hawaii for the answer to my first inquiry on arrival in 1922: how and why did the Islands become American?

After reading all available histories and voluminous Hawaiiana I realized that I had only the viewpoint of outsiders, the foreigners who came, saw, and conquered. What the Hawaiian saw, what he thought, how he felt as alien invaders swarmed over his homeland, were not recorded. Since no true history of a country can be written from the bare bones of recorded events without an accounting of how those happenings affected the lives, thoughts, and actions of the people native to the land, I sought that side of the story.

At the home of the late Princess Abigail Kawananakoa, whose husband, Prince David, was heir to the Hawaiian throne, I talked intimately with many of the older Hawaiians, active participants in the revolutionary events of 1893 when the monarchy was overthrown by a small group of foreigners, most of them born in the Islands yet retaining the American citizenship of their parents. The story given me by those elders differed widely from that presented in histories written by, or from the viewpoint of, the usurpers.

Broadening my field of research, I became a trusted friend of the *makaainana*, the sturdy middle class of old Hawaii, many of whom, in the seclusion of deep valleys and mountain retreats, had their own small communities in which they lived as nearly as possible in the manner of their ancestors. Long hours of their companionship, listening intently to reminiscences, asking questions, brought

rewarding comprehension of ancient traditions treasured deep within their hearts. I talked with young Hawaiians and part-Hawaiians who had adjusted to the tempo of the modern world and learned of their adaptation, sometimes easy, again difficult, to the mores of another people, another land.

By this time I realized that historical accuracy in presenting the Hawaiian picture could be achieved only by weighing with minute exactitude one version against the other and judging each in the light of any natural prejudice that may have affected the telling. The picture thus obtained would, of necessity, differ greatly from that which had become standard, but I decided it could be done by re-creating in faithful detail *exactly what happened*. I was spurred to my task by an instinctive respect for history which rebelled at the often false stories being perpetuated in books even today.

As a safeguard against pitfalls on the one side of over-sympathy for the dispossessed and on the other of unjust suspicion of the possessors, I made a careful day-by-day study of contemporary newspapers and when quoting from them I have carefully recorded ownership of the paper as indication of its sympathies. Without this explanation quotations from the violently partisan press of that day have little value. All quotations used are authentic, taken from files, letters, diaries, and newspapers most of which can be found in the Hawaiian Archives.

On the whole I found the pro-Hawaiian journals more temperate—certainly more erudite and witty—than those of their opponents, which were inclined to self-righteousness. Cautious appraisal of the motivating factors behind each statement was imperative for proper perspective of so tumultuous an era. A kingdom was at stake; personal am-



bitions unbridled; emotions violent. It was inevitable that the heroes of one faction should become the villains of the other.

A striking example was Walter Murray Gibson, an amazing American who became the power behind the throne of King Kalakaua. Painted by his detractors as a rascally knave (a portrait copied by subsequent writers who fail to look deeply into the subject), the official record of his actions and achievements and his unpublished diaries present him in an entirely different light. To the Hawaiians, for whom he fought so valiantly, he was a benefactor, greatly loved; by many foreigners in the Islands he was admired as an intelligent, courageous, and fearless fighter who became a martyr for the cause in which he believed so deeply. But to those whose imperialistic schemes he endeavored to frustrate he was a villain of deepest dye. Their attacks upon him were relentless, unceasing, and were carried even beyond the grave.

Outwardly unperturbed by aspersions heaped upon him, Gibson's diaries indicate the deep wounds to his emotional soul by such attacks. Yet he persisted in his fight to preserve the independence of the Hawaiian nation and the freedom of its people. His faith in the Hawaiians, whose shortcomings were as apparent to him as were their virtues, never faltered. They, in turn, stood loyally by him always as did also many of the foreign residents of the Islands who never doubted his good intentions nor the soundness of his vision.

Gibson was ahead of his time. Born to adventure, a dreamer with limitless horizons, sensitive, emotional, yet keenly analytical, he was at heart a crusader dedicated to the principle of self-determination as the right of all people. In his era this was heresy, and especially so in Hawaii, where

in the eyes of Puritan missionaries Hawaiian culture, theology, and traditions were "pagan," therefore worthless.

Today, a century later, Gibson's course of action is recognized as one with that of scientists and humanitarians everywhere. With an understanding far in advance of his age, he recognized the value to science of the Polynesian culture and endeavored to preserve it despite the ridicule of his opponents to whom all things Hawaiian were "heathenish." Enlightened historians today, less impressed by Gibson's outbursts of sentimentality (dwelt upon at length by his enemies) than by his multiple talents and the wide scope of his vision, acknowledge that his philosophy and beliefs were those of the twentieth century.

For a deeper insight into his extraordinary character than is obtainable from public records, I am indebted to his only surviving grandchild, Mrs. Rachel Wescoatt of Honolulu, who opened to me hitherto-unrevealed diaries and personal papers covering his life from early youth to his death in 1888. He plays an important part in this book, yet space permits no more than a mere outline of his amazing career. The full story awaits the hand of a discerning biographer.

The false picture of King Kalakaua drawn by his contemporary enemies is likewise perpetuated by many writers today. Their version presents, in exaggerated form, only his more frivolous side. But a careful study of his achievements and direct quotations from the unprejudiced who knew him personally at home and in his travels abroad reveal, in addition to his conviviality, a poised, cultured, life-loving man of scholarly interests and deep patriotism. Since the latter was anathema to those who wished to take over his country, they dwelt at length upon his extravagances and love of gaiety in order to justify their seizure

of control. Gifts to him from friends and subjects were always "bribes," while sugar stocks, etc., presented to cabinet officers when his opponents were in power, were called "friendly gifts."

One of the king's greatest achievements—the rescue and recording of the *Kumulipo* chant (the Polynesian story of Creation), denounced by his enemies as "an attempt to carry the Islands back to heathendom," is recognized today as an accomplishment of great value to the scientific world.

Many foreigners living in Hawaii during the reigns of King Kalakaua and Queen Liliuokalani were not in sympathy with the campaign to discredit them as a prelude to overthrow of the monarchy but were forced by circumstances, against their personal inclinations and convictions, to oppose the Hawaiians. From some of their descendants I have received information for which I am most grateful.

I am indebted also to the descendants of Prince David Kawananakoa for access to the collection of Pacific literature which he inherited from King Kalakaua, and I am especially indebted to his daughter Liliuokalani Kawananakoa (Mrs. C. R. Morris) for the privilege of reading an unfinished manuscript by her late husband, author-war correspondent Clark Lee, who for eight years prior to his sudden death in 1953 collected material relating to the overthrow of the Hawaiian monarchy, including American newspaper articles from which I have quoted to show reaction of the American people.

For permission to use excerpts from *This Life I've Loved*, by Isobel Field, I am grateful to Longmans, Green & Co., Inc., New York.

And to my husband, George Mellen, I am most deeply indebted for his scholarly assistance in the writing of this historical series.



Although my books are written primarily from the Hawaiian viewpoint, that does not lessen historical accuracy. On the contrary, the very fact that the picture presented would, of necessity, differ in some respects from that of many previous writers prompted extra care in assembling data and recording each event. Some points will be disputed. It will be stated, and correctly, that I have failed to give details relative to leaders in overthrow of the monarchy. But their story has often been told; my endeavor is to supplement the neglected side and to that end I have done my utmost to discover and record the truth.

The reader of *An Island Kingdom Passes* should bear in mind that the nineteenth century was an era of invading imperialists and buccaneering business barons. That was the fashion of the time, and Hawaii was not to escape. Unfortunately, her generous, hospitable, and trusting people were ill prepared to weather the onslaught. Missionary teachers had brought them a new culture and a strange religion, yet before they had time to adjust to this wholly alien civilization with its sharp and ruthless business practices they were to be overwhelmed by hordes of Asiatic laborers for the foreign-owned sugar plantations.

In judging the Hawaiian sugar planters of that era it must be remembered that they were contemporaries of the "robber barons" then thriving in all parts of the world; no worse, no better than their counterparts elsewhere. But even as they employed the ruthless methods of that day, so have they adopted, and in some respects improved upon, reforms brought by the twentieth century.

Today's leaders of the Hawaiian Sugar Planters Association are progressive, farsighted, and humane in relation to their workers, who are the world's highest-paid agricultural laborers on a year-round basis. Special benefits include vaca-

tions with pay, sick leaves, pensions, medical and hospital care—perquisites unique in the agricultural field. Their experiment station, established in 1895, is a world leader in technical research, thus enabling the planters to continue the industry as Hawaii's top-income producer, bringing into the Islands' economy almost one hundred and fifty million dollars a year.

The word "Missionary" as used in the text first applied solely to descendants of Calvinist missionaries from New England, became later a generic term to designate all who desired the overthrow of the Hawaiian Monarchy. Included in the "Missionary Party," a recognized political party, were many non-missionaries while some Calvinist descendants remained loyal "Royalists" to the end.

By the time I arrived in Hawaii in 1922 old animosities were well-nigh forgotten, opposing sides mutually granting sincerity of purpose. Particularly was this true in the case of Judge Sanford B. Dole who had headed the Provisional Government after overthrow of the monarchy and became first governor of the Territory of Hawaii. Loved and respected by everyone, Hawaii's "Grand Old Man" was then, at seventy-eight, handsome, erect, aristocratic, with white hair and silvery beard, soft brown eyes, and gentle patriarchal manner. His home, in which I was often a guest, was always filled with Hawaiians to whom he gave devoted service and upon whom he expended his limited means to the end of his life which came in June, 1926, shortly after his eighty-second birthday.

As to the native Hawaiians today, so great is their faith in their foster-mother country that the majority of them oppose any modification of the existing government that would lessen in the slightest its supervisory control by Washington. Ever green in their memories and ever warm

in their hearts is the fact that the United States Government restored their freedoms and rights of citizenship taken from them by the Republic of Hawaii after overthrow of the monarchy. Americans now in name and in spirit, their trust in the wisdom and justice of the national government is steadfast.

Following annexation to the United States, native Hawaiians were elected and appointed to many Federal and Territorial offices, filling them with honor. Today they hold positions of trust throughout the Islands, but political control, once theirs by reason of numbers, has been taken over by descendants of imported laborers. Regarding that earlier period, Irish-Hawaiian John C. Lane, who served ably as territorial senator and mayor of Honolulu, remembers: "When we controlled the vote we were always fair and just with our fellow man. It is not in our blood to be selfish. We are a generous people—too generous, perhaps, for our own good; but we cannot change our natures."

It is for that very reason that protection of Hawaiians should be assured, not merely as a matter of justice but because they possess those qualities most needed in the world today: tolerance, generosity, and an abundance of that ineffable quality expressed in their word *aloha*.

As a measure of compensation for the homeland of which they were deprived, the United States Congress in 1920 passed the Hawaiian Rehabilitation Act at behest of the late Prince Kuhio Kalanianaʻole, Hawaii's delegate to Congress. Intent of the Act was to provide homesteads for landless Hawaiians who found adjustment to the commercial world difficult. The purpose of the Act has not yet been fully carried out; until it is, America's pledge to them will remain unfulfilled.

Part-Hawaiians are increasing numerically and under the

excellent present-day training at Kamehameha Schools, established for them by their Princess Pauahi (Mrs. Bishop), they are being better prepared each year to meet today's problems. Fortunately, in nature and temperament they are unchanged and visitors to Hawaii today find them as described by a writer more than sixty years ago with ". . . handsome faces illuminated by as kindly hearts as God ever placed in human breasts."

K.D.M.

Honolulu, Hawaii





## Contents

AUTHOR'S NOTE	ix
1 The King Is Dead	1
2 A New Dynasty Is Established	12
3 The People Meet Their New King	21
4 A Reciprocity Treaty with the United States	31
5 King Kalakaua Captivates America	38
6 Sugar Treaty Begets Prosperity	45
7 Concerning Walter Murray Gibson	51
8 Progress; Optimism of 1878	70
9 Chinese Enter Hawaiian Politics	83
10 King Kalakaua Makes a Trip Around the World	95
11 The Princess Regent Rules Wisely	106
12 The King's Triumphal Homecoming	111
13 Gibson Outsmarts the "Kingmakers"	115
14 The Coronation	128
15 Gibson Scores Again	141
16 Death Takes Illustrious Royalty	150
17 Merrie Monarch of the Pacific	152

18	"The Kingdom of the Cousins"	164
19	Work and Worry Tax Gibson's Health	169
20	Gibson's Enemies Resort to Violence	182
21	The "Reformers" Come to Power	201
22	Death of Walter Murray Gibson	211
23	Robert Louis Stevenson Meets Hawaii	218
24	Wilcox Leads a Revolt	225
25	The Hawaiians Win an Election	239
26	Queen Liliuokalani	246
27	Queen's Strength Frightens "Reformers"	252
28	Overthrow of the Monarchy	260
29	America Officially Condemns the Usurpers	278
30	Minister Willis Meets the Queen	290
31	A Counterrevolution Erupts	301
32	The "Traitors" Are Tried	313
33	Queen Liliuokalani Visits America	326
34	An Ancient Nation Dies	339
35	The Islands Mark Time	351
36	Wilcox Fights for Hawaiian Franchise	362
37	"We, the Hawaiian People!"	373
	GLOSSARY	385

*AN ISLAND KINGDOM PASSES*







## CHAPTER 1

### The King Is Dead

ON SUNDAY AFTERNOON, February 3, 1874, a blood-red haze appeared over the mountaintops of all the Hawaiian Islands. The natives, gazing upon the phenomenon with understanding of its tragic significance, whispered: "*He makole ia!*"

It was the traditional "tears of blood" harbinger of Death's approach to claim a member of the royal House of Keawe to which belonged their reigning monarch, King Lunalilo, then lying seriously ill at his Waikiki Beach summer home. Quietly, the people converged upon the beach area there to wait in silence broken only by rustle of coco-palm fronds in the trade winds and murmur of surf upon the sand. Through the long afternoon and into the night they waited, silently.

At nine o'clock the court chamberlain appeared. His quiet announcement, "*Ua make ka mo'i*" (Our king is dead) did not break the tense silence. There was no sound of mourning as the watchers dispersed to spread the news of His Majesty's death throughout the capital city of Honolulu and by swift canoe messengers to the other islands; only a softly spoken "*Ua make ka mo'i*."

Foreigners in Honolulu were puzzled by this strange behavior of a people normally vocal, and they were worried

by its possible implication. Some feared it presaged an outburst of violence, for they knew Hawaiians believed that the king's illness had been brought about by foreign interference in government affairs. Angry mutterings of "The *haoles* have worried him sick" had recently been heard on all sides.

So the foreigners, too, waited quietly. One of them, Curtis Lyons, wrote to his family on the island of Hawaii: "There is not a sound, a wail; only dead quiet." The newspaper *Nuhou* (Latest News) reported: "Not a voice was heard, only the tramp of feet hurrying to and fro . . ."

Exactly at midnight, as required by ancient custom, the dead king, attended by high officials, was carried out of his beach home and through silent streets to Iolani Palace, there to lie in state in the throne room. Of the march an English visitor wrote: "It was a cloudless moonlight; not a leaf stirred or bird sang and the crowd, consisting of several thousands, opened to right and left to let the dismal death train pass in a stillness broken only by the solemn tramp of the bearers." Then the Hawaiians, closing in behind, followed mutely down the silent street. As the bier passed through the entrance of Iolani Palace their pent-up emotions could no longer be contained "and their wailing echoed mournfully throughout the night, continuing until the red dawn of daylight broke over the city."

King Lunalilo's reign had been short—one year and twenty-five days—yet in that brief time he became "The People's King." He was a grand-nephew of world-renowned Kamehameha the Great, who founded the Kamehameha Dynasty in 1795 to rule a united Hawaiian Kingdom. The great conqueror's direct line had ended December 11, 1872, with the death of his bachelor grandson, Kamehameha V who, when urged to appoint Lunalilo as his successor, refused, saying:

"Lunalilo is the rightful heir and the people want him, but I shall not appoint him because he is weak-willed and the foreigners will control him. If I appoint someone else, the people will be displeased and the foreigners would stir them to civil strife as pretext for overthrowing the government so as to take the kingdom for themselves. I shall leave the choice of my successor to decision of the Legislature as is permitted by law."

As he had foreseen, immediately after his death a campaign for the election of Lunalilo was started by a group of foreigners led by sons of American missionaries who had settled in Hawaii in 1820 and later. Although missionaries of other faiths followed, these New England Calvinists alone were referred to as the "Missionaries" and the political group they headed as "The Missionary Party" (albeit many non-missionaries belonged) as opposed to the Hawaiian or Royalist Party which included those foreigners loyal to the monarchy.

Having become virtual rulers of the kingdom during the early years of their residence, the "Missionaries" lost their behind-the-throne control in 1854 when Kamehameha IV became king, and had not since been able to regain it. Now determined to do so, they stayed close by the side of young Prince Lunalilo, writing his speeches and pushing his candidacy with great urgency. Should the legislative vote go against him, he was to proclaim himself King "and we promised him in that case our support," noted one. Wrote another: "We rallied about, kept him sober, and stayed up his hands."

Their task was not difficult, for the gracious young prince was loved by everyone. Isabelle Bird, an English visitor, described him as "commanding and aristocratic in bearing, handsome—even according to our standards . . . the grace

of movement usual with Hawaiians . . . gentlemanly . . . but a look of irresolution about the mouth." Mark Twain said he had a fine mind, a quick wit with a delightful gift of mimicry, was pleasure-loving and gay. But all were agreed that he was entirely devoid of a sense of responsibility.

The pampered darling of nobility and commoners alike, Lunalilo had devoted his life to pleasure, laughing away all efforts of family and friends to interest him in governmental affairs. Appointed a member of the Privy Council by Kamehameha V, he had refused to attend meetings for the, to him, sufficient reason that they bored him! But his most serious fault was a thirst for liquor. Not greatly important in the role of a lighthearted playboy, this was to become a fatal handicap when, as king, he turned to alcohol for solace when confused by matters of state and frustrated by pressures put upon him by his foreign advisors.

During pre-election days, however, life looked bright indeed for the charming young prince. At the suggestion of his backers, he asked that an island-wide plebiscite be held on January 1 so that the people might make known their wishes prior to the meeting of the Legislature on January 8. This move, said British residents of the Islands, was intended by the Americans "to push the monarchy toward a republic."

Lunalilo's candidacy did not go unchallenged. Among the nobility was a high chief, thirty-six-year-old David Keola Keoma Kalakaua, who had served with honor in governments of the past two kings. Although not a member of the Kamehameha Dynasty, Kalakaua was descended from a distinguished line of chiefs established on the island of Hawaii by Pilikaeaea in A.D. 1090; as the most eligible young nobleman at court he had been favored by Kamehameha V



as husband for his sister, Princess Victoria. Her early death defeating this plan, Kalakaua married the High Chiefess Kapiolani, granddaughter of King Kaumualii of Kauai, who was of the land's highest lineage.

In opening his campaign, Kalakaua warned the people of "the false teachings of the foreigners who are now grasping to obtain control of the government if William Lunalilo ascends the throne." His attacks merely aroused Lunalilo's supporters to greater efforts. Bostonian newsman David Graham Adee observed: "Kalakaua was the more worthy of the two, but he was a sort of Hamilton and the populace wanted a Jefferson. Lunalilo was elected on a wave of emotion . . . and nothing he did abated the wonderful love felt for him."

The tremendous vote cast for Lunalilo indicated the mood of the people. When the Legislature met, his election was unanimous. With his customary adaptability Kalakaua accepted defeat gracefully and, foreseeing inevitable disaster for the reign of the irresponsible Lunalilo, set about making plans for his own future.

As he had prophesied, all cabinet positions in the new government were filled with foreigners. Prime Minister was Charles R. Bishop, a former New Yorker married to the Hawaiian Princess Pauahi; Finance, Scotsman Robert Sterling; Interior, Edwin O. Hall, and Attorney General, Albert F. Judd, sons of American missionaries. All were looked upon as men of integrity but the natives were deeply hurt that no Hawaiian was included in either the cabinet or in secondary positions, some of which were filled by foreigners of dubious reputation.

Within a short time Lunalilo's reign, inaugurated with fanfare, developed forebodings, and gradually native rejoic-

ing turned to fear, then to anger, as they saw their king pressed and harassed by behind-the-throne "kingmakers" whose ambitions were not long concealed.

For twenty years Island sugar planters had sought a reciprocity treaty with the United States which would permit their product to enter the American market duty free. Year after year their agents in Washington begged, cajoled, and worked in vain for the treaty. America's refusal was based partly upon the opposition of her own sugar planters and partly upon that of native Hawaiians who feared the compact would lead to eventual annexation of their islands, as frequently boasted by its sponsors.

Each succeeding administration in Washington made it clear that no action would be taken on such a treaty without approval of the Hawaiian people. Now, with a king pledged to do their bidding, the planters prepared to present the treaty request through him as the voice of his native subjects. The document he was asked to sign stated that the treaty's primary purpose was "to benefit the Hawaiian people whose rights on their own soil are still paramount to all others and for whose welfare all foreigners feel a deep interest." The concluding paragraph proposed that, in exchange for the treaty, the Hawaiian Kingdom would give the United States a fifty-year lease of Pearl River near Honolulu as a harbor and coaling station.

Although the king understood little of governmental affairs he sensed danger to his nation in such a bargain and delayed signing. When urged to do so he said, "I have been warned by old residents and some of the natives against any cession of territory to another country. Later on I will decide whether to sign it or not."

Finding it impossible to move him, the promoters gave the document to United States Minister Henry A. Peirce

and asked that he present it to his government "subject to ratification by the king and approval of the Legislature." This Minister Peirce did, with his own enthusiastic endorsement: "The cession to the United States of Pearl River, etc., will undoubtedly lead, sooner or later, to the cession of the entire Archipelago." Which was just what the Hawaiians had figured and feared.

In acknowledging receipt of the proposal, Secretary of State Hamilton Fish replied that he had grave doubts of its acceptance by his government since "both Houses of Congress are more or less averse to such a treaty . . . if formally presented by the king himself, however, it would receive due consideration." Therefore pressures upon the king continued, and when he appeared to have weakened sufficiently to warrant publicity the *Advertiser* published a statement that the cession of Pearl River had been offered to the United States Government in exchange for the treaty.

This brought an immediate storm of disapproval from Hawaiians and all foreigners loyal to the throne. One, signing himself "Independence," challenged the statement that the treaty's purpose was to benefit Hawaiians: "The political questions which agitate the few in Honolulu are based entirely on self-interest . . . the Hawaiian people are never thought of."

Immediately a meeting of all "loyalists" was called at Kaumakapili Church and discussion was violent as one Hawaiian after another denounced "this latest trickery of the foreigners." Young David Malo, son of a distinguished Hawaiian scholar, wound up a brilliant oration with the demand that those few Americans who were trying "to slip over annexation" be banished from the Islands. "They should be forced to go back to the United States to live!" he cried.

Among the foreign speakers was Joseph O. Carter, Honolulu-born son of a New England shipmaster. A man of impeccable character and warm emotions, he had cast his lot with the Hawaiians and in the troubled years ahead was to fight steadily in their defense. Another effective speaker was an Englishman, Godfrey Rhodes, who warned the Hawaiians that cession of Pearl River "will mark the end of your national life as an independent people." After several hours of passionate debate a resolution was offered "utterly opposing the cession of any portion of our country . . . and disapproval of those Ministers who consented to such a cession." It was adopted unanimously.

The campaign against the proposal was then carried on by an American, Walter Murray Gibson who, through his privately owned weekly newspaper *Nuhou* so skillfully exposed the motives and intentions of the Missionary Party as to win their everlasting enmity.

Expressing his belief that "the best interests of majestic America will be served by an independent Hawaii," Gibson said, "We are opposed to the Pearl River cession as an unnecessary concession to secure reciprocity . . . we join issue with the Ministers and declare them incompetent and derelict in their duty to the King and the country." Charging the Cabinet with being entirely under the control of the sugar planters, he said they were planning to change the law limiting membership in the House of Nobles to native Hawaiians so that they themselves might become eligible for appointment.

Those who have fattened on this land . . . now propose to fill vacant places of departed Chiefs with strangers who would sell the birthright of the race. But let the Ministers beware! These fifty thousand Hawaiians are still masters of the political situation



. . . and they will regard as traitors whoever helped to place a trader of Hawaiian soil among the Nobles of Hawaii. None but native subjects of His Majesty are appropriate as Hawaiian Nobles.

As copies of *Nuhou* came off the press to be eagerly bought by foreigners and Hawaiians alike, the behind-the-throne dictators, whom Gibson had dubbed "the king-makers," alarmed at evidence of his ability to arouse public opinion, ordered their two newspapers, the *Advertiser* and *Gazette*, to denounce him as a thoroughgoing scoundrel, which they proceeded to do. A visiting reporter from the San Francisco *Chronicle* wrote: "Gibson is hated because of his shrewdness in puncturing their little game."

In reply to charges by the *Advertiser* that he was stirring up hatred against America, Gibson pointed to his voluminous writings (some published in the *Advertiser*) in which he had urged the Hawaiians to cultivate the friendship of the United States "which has always proven to be your friend." As for himself, he wrote:

We have cast our lot with Hawaii. We have planted our stakes here forever. And as we loved our old homeland, so do we love this one that now nourishes us. We will bear with the deficiencies of the native people and try to supplement the lack with some addition of our own experiences. . . .

As the newspaper attacks upon him grew in volume and intensity Gibson, retaining the calm manner that was to prove so exasperating to his opponents in years to come, continued his pointed comments:

We are blamed for awakening the Hawaiians' patriotic sentiment . . . and for criticizing constitutional au-

thorities. Alas for a country where no such voice exists. Are they stifled in free England and free America? . . . We have sought to fire the Hawaiian heart, to excite a spirit for the maintenance of national independence. . . . This is a fight against national disintegration. . . .

Gibson's fervent, dramatic crusade attracted attention abroad and *Nuhou* was described by the San Francisco *Examiner* as "The most wideawake journal in the Sandwich Islands." At home, it was stirring Hawaiians to action. *Nuhou* published a newly composed *mele*:

My people: be not deceived by the merchants  
 They are making fair their faces but are evil within  
 Ever soliciting and at the same time flattering  
 They have no thought of good for you  
 Desiring only you should die that the Kingdom may  
     become theirs.

To this emotional native outcry Gibson added his own florid comment:

Oh, Hawaii, we weep with thee but we do not despair.  
 The wail of death is not our song. We would chaunt  
 eternal hope . . . and would inspire thee yet to snatch  
 from the jaws of destruction the last remnant of thy  
 national hope and infuse into it fresh blood and an  
 enduring existence.

The furor aroused by *Nuhou* so stiffened the king's will power that he refused to sign the treaty. The Cabinet, therefore, requested Minister Peirce to withdraw it, which he did with the explanation that it had "aroused great turbulence of feeling among the natives." Washington newspapers reported that the United States would not consider

# Persons of the Drama

KING LUNALILO (1835-1874; r.1873-4) last of Kamehameha line, yet first ruler to be elected in Hawaii's known history because his kinsman, Kamehameha V, refused to name him successor, considering him too much the play-boy. But the people elected him joyously. A bachelor, like Kamehameha V, he was the second Hawaiian monarch known to have reigned without a consort. He willed his large landed estate for the establishment and support of Lunalilo Home ". . . for poor, destitute, and infirm people of Hawaiian blood or extraction . . . giving preference to old people."

*Government Archives*





*Government Archives*

KING KALAKAUA (1836–1891; r.1874–1891) was a *bon vivant*, scholar, sportsman, musician, who achieved a renaissance of Hawaii's ancient culture through revival of its music, dances, sports, and *Hāle Nau-a* (House of Learning) whose last surviving faculty members chanted for transcription much of Hawaii's an-

cient unwritten literature, notably *Kūmulipo*, Polynesian epic of Creation, the Flood, and Island history. Graciously at ease among intellectuals, he was equally so among bohemians, who called him, for his *joie de vivre* and love of art, "The Merrie Monarch of the Pacific."





*Government Archives*

QUEEN CONSORT KAPIOLANI (1834–1899) spoke only Hawaiian yet lent to the court of King Kalākaua the dignity and gentle grace characteristic of her Kaumualiʻi ancestors, famed ruling family of Kauai. Her life was devoted to furthering the work of *Lahui Hoʻoulu* (Increase Our Race), a society organized by

the king to offset the evils of foreign influence decimating the native population. She founded Kapiolani Maternity Home for Hawaiian mothers and for its perpetual maintenance willed her entire large personal fortune in trust “so that,” she said, “the babies may live.”





PRINCE  
CONSORT  
JOHN  
OWEN  
DOMINIS  
(1851-1893)

*Government  
Archives*

*Government Archives*

QUEEN LILIUOKALANI (1839-1917; r.1891-1893) was, like the matriarchs of old Hawaii, strong-willed, confident, commanding. Her endeavor so to strengthen her government that those foreigners who had increased their power during the reign of her more pliable brother could never seize the kingdom, caused them to demand her abdication. She yielded only to avoid bloodshed, confident that America would oust the usurpers and restore her throne.



PRINCESS LIKELIKE (1851–1887), youngest sister of King Kalakaua and Queen Liliuokalani, married Britisher Archibald Cleghorn, bore him one child, the Princess Kaiulani. While governor of the island of Hawaii, Likelike won Hawaiian hearts with her poetic oratory in the ancient style, and in Honolulu presided with vivacious grace over Ainalou, their Wai-kiki estate, developed by her husband into a large, beautiful botanical garden.

*Government Archives*



PRINCESS KAIULANI (1875–1899), heir apparent, was betrothed to Prince Kawanakoa, a pledge broken by her untimely death. Beautiful, talented, educated in England for her destined duties as queen of the Kingdom of Hawaii, she was idolized by her people.

*Baker Archives*





**QUEEN DOWAGER EMMA** (1836–1885), as consort of Kamehameha IV (1834–1863; r.1854–1863), shared his deep concern for the declining health of their people. To provide free medical care for Hawaiians they founded Queen's Hospital and to make free care perpetual she endowed it with her vast estate left in trust. Of one fourth English blood she was strongly pro-British and a warm personal friend of Queen Victoria, who sponsored as godmother Their Hawaiian Majesties' only child, the Prince of Hawaii, whose death at four years of age hastened that of his father and grieved all Hawaiians profoundly.

*Government Archives*

**PRINCESS PAUAHI** (1831–1884), great-granddaughter of Kamehameha I, wed Charles R. Bishop (1822–1915) who assisted her in establishing Kamehameha schools exclusively for Hawaiians and part-Hawaiians. As a memorial, he founded Bernice Pauahi Bishop Museum of Polynesian culture.

*Government Archives*





PRINCESS ABIGAIL (1882–1945), first of four daughters born to Irishman James Campbell and Mrs. (Kuaihilani Maipinepine) Campbell of a renowned line of Maui warriors, she married Prince Kawanānakoā in 1902 and to them were born a son, Kalakaua (1904–1951), and daughters Kapiolani and Liliuokalani. Far famed for her great beauty, brilliant mind, and vivacious interest in public affairs, Princess “Abby” entertained world royalty and American great names in regal style with receptions, dinners, and spectacular native *lūaʻūs* complete with menus, chants, music, and authentically ancient *hūla* dances.

*Courtesy Kapiolani Kawanānakoā*



PRINCE KAWANANAKO (1868–1908), scion of royalty of Kauai (Kaumualiʻi) and Hawaii (Keawe) which made him a cousin of King Kalakaua and a nephew of Queen Kapiolani. In 1884 he was made Prince Kawanānakoā, second in line of succession to the throne after Princess Kaiulani, his betrothed. After her untimely death (1899) he married Abigail Wahihikaahuula Campbell (above).

*Courtesy Kapiolani Kawanānakoā*



### *Bauer*

LILIUOKALANI KAWANANAKOA (Mrs. C. E. Morris) born, 1905, to Prince and Princess Kawanakoa, stands before the throne of Hawaii last graced by her aunt Queen Liliuokalani for whom she was named and with whom many hours of her childhood were passed happily in the

queen's beautiful home, Washington Place (since 1919 residence of Hawaii's governors). By a previous marriage Liliuokalani has a daughter, Kei-kaulike, attractive, popular socialite and enthusiastic sportswoman who spends much of her time in Europe.



KAPIOLANI KAWANANAKOA  
(Mrs. Harry M. Field) born, 1903,  
to Prince and Princess Kawanakoa,  
seated amid royal family heirlooms  
and rare gifts inherited from King  
Kalakaua by whom these and many  
more were received from various  
crowned heads. By a previous mar-

riage Kapiolani has a son, Keali'iahonui, who has two sons and one daughter, Po'omaikelani, who makes her home in the Islands, and another daughter, "Baby" Kapiolani, the Marchesa Filippo Marignoli who, with her husband and their two daughters, lives in Rome.

*Howell*







IOLANI PALACE as it appeared shortly after completion in 1883 on the site, sacred in Hawaiian tradition, of the old one-story palace which was razed. During construction the East Indian-type building, left, known as the Bungalow and to Hawaiians as *Hale Akala* (Pink House), served as a palace and continued in use as a retreat from court life. It was torn down in 1919. Next beyond can be seen the observatory and roof of the first Royal Hawaiian Hotel, built by Kamehameha V in 1871, leased by the kingdom to private management. In 1917 it was bought by popular subscription, given to the Army and Navy YMCA, who replaced it in 1926 by a modern building.

WALTER MURRAY GIBSON (1824–1888), King Kamehameha's prime minister and a power in the Hawaiian Kingdom, was almost wholly responsible for the new Iolani Palace planned, he said, "to support the prestige and dignity of the kingdom in the eyes of the world and to restore national pride and confidence of the native Hawaiian people" to whom he was ardently devoted. Opposed stubbornly by certain of the foreign element, to whom it appeared a "foolish extravagance," he was forced to borrow on his personal note from San Francisco's financier Claus Spreckels enough to complete the job. After Gibson's death the loan was repaid from his personal estate. Another Honolulu landmark, the statue of Kamehameha the Great in Palace Square, was also a Gibson morale-building project.

*Courtesy Mrs. Rachel Westcott*





**THERESA OWANA KAOHELE-**  
**LANI WILCOX** (1860-1944) was  
of noble Hawaiian birth and the  
perfect mate for Robert Kalani-  
Hiapo Wilcox born of a noted  
Hawaiian mother and American fa-  
ther. In the photo (below) he  
wears the uniform of the Garibaldi  
Youths which he joined when in  
Italy where he had been sent by  
King Kalakaua to be educated.  
Home again, he was scorned by  
the Missionary Party against which  
he warred relentlessly — the last  
years of his life as Hawaii's dele-  
gate to Congress elected by a na-  
tive Hawaiian majority whose right  
to vote had been restored under  
terms of the United States Annex-  
ation Act.

*Government Archives*

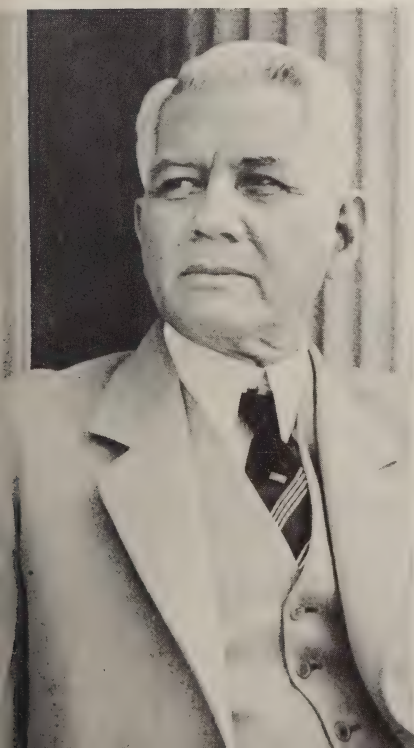


**ROBERT**  
**KALANI-HIAPO**  
**WILCOX**  
(1855-1903)

*Government Archives*

LOT KAMEHAMEHA LANE (1864-1953), one of the six Irish-Hawaiian Lane brothers, all ardent Royalists, was named for Kamehameha V by His Majesty in person. Imprisoned for "treason" as a front-line participant in the 1895 counterrevolution for restoration of the monarchy overthrown by a group of foreigners under whose voting qualifications plan natives were virtually disfranchised, he lived to enjoy the right to vote, and freedom, under United States rule of which he said: "Americans, like our chiefs of old, know that loyalty is assured by protecting the people's pride — America never tries to shame you."

*Morse*



JOHN AWENAI-KALANI-KEA-HIO-O-PELE CAREY LANE, Lot's younger brother, born July 24, 1872, was also imprisoned by the usurpers, also steadfastly refused allegiance to their "Provisional Government." Biding his time, after annexation he held many high positions under American rule: territorial senator; mayor of Honolulu; territorial high sheriff; territorial prison warden. He believes that "America's government policy succeeds as well for her as did that of our chiefs who, by encouraging the people's self-respect, won and held their complete loyalty."

*Homsy*



**PRINCE KALANIANAʻOLE** (1871-1922), Prince Kawanakoa's brother. Educated in Hawaii, America, and England, he married Elizabeth, daughter of High Chief Kahanu of Maui, in 1896. He was Hawaii's unbeatable delegate to Congress 1903 until his death January 7, 1922, because, up to that time, balance of power was held by Hawaiians, all ardent Royalists. Crowning a career devoted to them, he put through Congress an act restoring to their exclusive use 170,000 acres of lands taken from their *aliʻi*.

*Baker Archives*

**JOHN KALANI-EHA WILSON** (1871-1956) and Mrs. Wilson on their forty-seventh wedding anniversary. She was Kini Kapahukula-o-Kamamalu, premier *hula* dancer at court of King Kalākaua and became leader in Hawaiian community life, head of famous Kaahumanu Society and Hawaii's modern "Magnificent Matriarch." John was son of Anglo-Hawaiian-Tahitian Charles B. Wilson, Queen Liliuokalani's marshal of the kingdom and American-Hawaiian Eveline (Townsend) Wilson, Her Majesty's lady in waiting. A Stanford graduate in civil engineering, he built first road over Nuuanu Pali.

*Honolulu Advertiser*

**EXECUTIVE COUNCIL** of the Provisional Government which, with unauthorized backing of American Minister Stevens using United States Marines, seized Queen Liliuokalani's government January 13, 1893, and dethroned her, meeting in the royal conference room of Iolani Palace. From left: Sea Captain James A. King who married Anglo-Hawaiian Charlotte Holmes Davis; Justice (in the Queen's cabinet) Sanford B. Dole, president of Provisional Government, of successor Republic of Hawaii, and first governor of Territory of Hawaii; lawyer W. O. Smith; banker Peter C. Jones.





any proposal from the Hawaiian Government which did not have the full approval of the Hawaiian people and the subject was dropped for the time being.

The Pearl River episode was but one among many schemes presented to the king by the "secret dictators," and as their pressures upon him increased the combination of worry, frustration, and liquor took its toll. Severe colds followed one upon another until by the end of the first year of his reign tuberculosis was wasting his frail body. In November Dr. George Trousseau, his physician, took him to the island of Hawaii in hope that the warm, gentle air of Kona would prove beneficial; but he grew steadily worse. In January, 1874, he was brought back to Honolulu, where he died shortly after his thirty-ninth birthday.

Thus ended the life of the pleasure-loving young Prince Lunalilo. As evidence of devotion to his people, he willed his large fortune "For care of the poor, destitute, and infirm people of Hawaiian blood, giving preference to old people."

Ended also was a distinct phase of Hawaiian national life, for never again were the natives to know the feeling of self-identification with their *ali'i* such as they had experienced under the rule of the Kamehamehas through whose lives they lived vicariously and with whom they knew a complete oneness.

Now, on February 4, 1874, while the dead king lay in state in the throne room of Iolani Palace surrounded by grieving subjects, the "kingmakers," working swiftly on secret plans for continuation of their control, were preparing for a public meeting at Kawaiahao Church where, with their candidate already chosen, they were ready to cry:

"Long live the King!"



## CHAPTER 2

## A New Dynasty Is Established

FOR several months prior to the death of King Lunalilo political intrigue had been rife in Honolulu as a result of his refusal to name a successor. Once again the decision would be made by the Legislature and the "kingmakers" faced the fact that both candidates were known to be unfriendly to the Missionary Party.

One was the Queen Dowager Emma, widow of Kamehameha IV, who had but recently called them "anti-Hawaiian." The other was High Chief David Kalakaua, whom the "kingmakers" had attacked viciously when he opposed Lunalilo in the campaign of only a year ago. Queen Emma, whose life had been devoted wholly to the welfare of her people, would have the backing of the masses and it was believed that the House of Representatives (Commons) would vote solidly for her. Kalakaua's strength would lie in the House of Nobles and among upper-class Hawaiians who believed he could best deal with the foreign world into which the small island kingdom had been drawn unwillingly.

As ruler, Queen Emma would undoubtedly favor the British colony to whom she was bound by ties of blood and affection. Through her grandfather, John Young, English advisor to Kamehameha the Great whose niece he married, she was one quarter British. At birth she was adopted by Thomas Rooke, M.D., an Englishman married to her



mother's sister, and had grown up in an atmosphere strongly British.

Her English sympathies were further strengthened by the fact that Queen Victoria had served as sponsor and god-mother of her infant son, the Prince of Hawaii, after whose death she had been invited to England where the two queens became close friends. In view of these things the "kingmakers," knowing they would have no influence with the Queen Dowager, turned to the High Chief David Kalakaua.

Ever since the Legislature rejected him for Lunalilo, Kalakaua had played a careful, canny game. Suave in manner and of superior intellect, he had sought and won friends and supporters among the leaders of all factions. A favorite with foreign diplomats who praised his "polished manners and fine bearing," he was admired also by visiting writers. Correspondent David Graham Adee (in the *Republic*) described him as

"A gentleman of education and breeding with a remarkably fine presence . . . stature large and commanding; suave, intelligent, conversation fluent, address easy and graceful. . . . Although Hawaiian to the core he is likewise a cosmopolite. . . . Sizing up the situation, he knew that the greatest safety to his country was to make an ally of the United States, to get them to protect, rather than to seize, Hawaii."

In November, prior to the death of King Lunalilo, Kalakaua wrote a letter to the *Advertiser* in praise of the United States, saying its leaders had always dealt honorably with the Hawaiian Kingdom and that he personally felt most cordial toward "our great friend across the sea." Samuel N. Castle, head of the powerful mercantile house of Castle & Cooke, promptly commended his statement, saying that the

opinion of no one in Hawaii carried more weight than did that of the High Chief Kalakaua.

Sanford B. Dole, another member of the Missionary Party, wrote in praise of him: "He belongs to a family of rank and distinction. . . ." Praise of his lineage was an important part of their campaign to counteract the prestige of Queen Emma's Kamehameha blood which they themselves, during the Lunalilo contest, had declared the only heritage worthy of the Hawaiian throne.

Following this public exchange of amenities there were further secret conferences between Kalakaua and the "king-makers" at which both sides made concessions and gave pledges. It was agreed that in return for their support of money and influence he would permit them to name his cabinet officers, and that he would go personally to Washington to ask for the reciprocity treaty in the name of the Hawaiian people. They, in turn, promised they would not seek to lease Pearl River to the United States.

Thereafter the Missionary papers which had formerly derided his ability, his lineage, his character, supported Kalakaua's candidacy with lavish praise, declaring his blood was higher than that of the Kamehamehas, his character impeccable, his family life flawless: "His marriage relations will have a good effect on the people of this kingdom." But above all they praised his wholehearted devotion to his own people—this for the purpose of strengthening him among the masses without whose support he could not hope to win the vote of the House of Representatives.

There were also many non-missionary foreigners supporting Kalakaua, among them the Hon. Charles C. Harris, a New Englander of long residence in the Islands whose devotion to the Hawaiians, formerly ridiculed by the *Gazette*,

was now acclaimed as evidence that those most interested in the welfare of the natives desired his election. Welcomed also was the support of Walter Murray Gibson who wrote:

Here is a nation that needs quickening; a new inspiration to give it a fresh start. There is only one individual who can arouse this passion of patriotism among Hawaiians—the High Chief David Kalakaua.

Thus even before King Lunalilo was dead, lines were being drawn for the bitterest political battle the kingdom had ever known.

On the morning of February 4 the *Gazette*, announcing the king's death, added: "Colonel David Kalakaua is the only male *ali'i* . . . qualified. Therefore we respond to what is unquestionably the unanimous wish of the people and nominate Prince David Kalakaua for the exalted position of King of the Hawaiian Islands and recommend the Legislative Assembly to choose him as successor of Lunalilo. . . . Let us all unite on Prince David. . . . Let us forget all differences and consider only what may tend to promote the peace and welfare of our fatherland, Hawaii Nei."

The "kingmakers" then made their first open move. A proclamation was issued calling for an hour of prayer in memory of the late king, to be held at Kawaiahao Church at 3 P.M. that same day. Hawaiians were urged to attend, and many did so. The meeting was opened with a prayer; a resolution of condolence was presented; then, to the amazement of the Hawaiians, a foreigner read a resolution stating it to be "the will of the people that Colonel Kalakaua be the next king."

Several Hawaiians jumped to their feet in protest, reminding that the king was not yet dead twenty-four hours.

They demanded that the resolution be withdrawn. What happened next was reported by Curtis Lyons to his father, the Rev. Lorenzo Lyons, both devoted friends of Hawaiians:

A tremendous shout of approval met this proposal . . . but the meeting was so managed as to appear on the record as 'unanimous' for Kalakaua. The opposing vote was not called for. . . . The newspaper report of the meeting was a misrepresentation of the true sentiment. . . . The whole thing had been planned in advance. . . . I talked with many natives on the way out and they were all for Queen Emma. . . .

Immediately after the meeting at Kawaiahao Church the steamer *Kilauea* under command of owner Samuel G. Wilder, sailed for the outer islands, bearing a ministerial summons for assembly of the Legislature and the story that "the Hawaiians in Honolulu have already endorsed Prince David Kalakaua for king."

That night more than two thousand Hawaiians marched through the streets of Honolulu chanting their love and loyalty for Queen Emma as they made their way to her home in Nuuanu Valley. There, a spokesman read a letter from Lunalilo's father saying his son intended to name her his successor but died before it could be arranged.

In response the Queen Dowager spoke tenderly to the people, pledging that if elected she would appoint natives to office and that "only to those offices which natives cannot fill will I appoint foreigners."

A few days later, in a formal proclamation posted throughout the city, Queen Emma announced her candidacy, requesting that her "beloved people . . . assemble peaceably and orderly in your districts and give formal

expression of your wishes. God Protect Hawaii! (signed) Emma Kaleleonalani."

The proclamation for High Chief David Kalakaua was published in the *Gazette*: "I accept this nomination of myself to this high and responsible position of Guardian of the Government with the earnest hope that the Government may be conducted wisely so as to secure and perpetuate our national independence and the preservation and prosperity of our race. God Preserve Hawaii! (signed) Kalakaua."

The *Gazette* and *Advertiser* continued their praise of Kalakaua in every issue, stressing his "distinguished and ancient lineage" and confidence that he would be "guided by his counsellors." Gibson's *Nuhou* stressed his patriotism and his ability to save the Hawaiian race from extinction.

The *Kilauea* arrived in Honolulu the morning of February 8 bringing all the legislators from the outer islands. Taken directly to a clothing store where each was given an expensive suit, a high silk hat, and fancy cane, they were then conveyed by carriages to a large house where, wrote one of the leaders, ". . . safe from Emma's partisans, they were kept in bounds until the hour of voting."

For the next four days they were feasted at *luaus*, entertained by *hula* dancers, and given all the gin they could drink—but never permitted out of sight of their "protectors."

On February 12, when the balloting was to take place, they were put into carriages and taken en masse to the courthouse where they were herded into the building without being permitted to speak to the thousands of Hawaiians milling around outside. Observers noted that many of them were so drunk that they had to be assisted up the steps.



Inside the courtroom each legislator was given two ballots—a plain one for Queen Emma and one marked with a large black heart on the back for Kalakaua. When voting, each member had to hold his ballot up for inspection by the teller before depositing it as assurance that he had the right one. Spectators reported that the men were an unhappy, miserable-looking lot, most of them so befuddled by liquor that they could not place the ballot in the box unassisted.

Meanwhile, Queen Emma's followers (none of whom was permitted inside) marched round and round the courthouse with drum and fife, singing, chanting, and lifting their voices in praise of their candidate. Those in charge of perpetrating the fraud nervously hastened the voting. When the ballots were counted, thirty-nine for Kalakaua, six for Queen Emma, announcement of the result was made from the courthouse door to the thousands assembled outside.

For a moment there was dead silence. Then a roar of anger as the people rushed toward the doorway shouting "*Inu na Luna Makaainana i ka Wai Awaawa!*" (The Representatives will drink the Bitter Waters!) This was followed by "We do not want the foreigners. We want the true *makaainana*." As the mob surged forward the courthouse door was quickly barricaded from inside. The crowd began breaking boughs from nearby trees for weapons. Some threw stones through the windows. The cry was heard, "Get gasoline; burn them out!"

With realization of the depth of the mob's anger there was panic within the courthouse. Some legislators sought refuge on the upper floor where they locked themselves in; others hid on top of high cabinets or behind heavy pieces of furniture; one man jumped out of a window only to be set upon and severely beaten by the mob. Finally the barricaded

doors yielded under the battering of heavy pieces of timber and the infuriated mob rushed into the building, screaming and cursing as they hunted down the legislators. As one after another was found his new clothes were torn off, the "bribe money" emptied from his pockets, and he was given a sound thrashing.

The building became a shambles. Furniture was torn to pieces, windows broken, walls spattered with ink, and occasional pools of blood on the floor bore mute evidence of the popular fury against public servants who had been betrayed into flouting the people's will.

None of the foreigners was attacked (not even two who were found rolled up in heavy paper atop a cabinet) and three of them won the people's respect for their calm behavior. Before the door of the records room stood Charles C. Harris and Sanford B. Dole where, speaking quietly and firmly to the enraged mob, they prevented entrance to the room, thereby saving valuable official documents. When Joseph O. Carter, loyal friend of the Hawaiians, endeavored to reason with the maddened crowd, he was picked up bodily, deposited safely outside the building, and told to keep out of the way; only those who had forsaken the queen were wanted for reprisal.

When it became evident that the native police were on the side of the attackers, the Government asked assistance from American and British ships in port. So from the United States warships *Portsmouth* and *Tuscarora* one hundred and fifty marines were sent ashore and from the British corvette *Tenedos* one hundred sailors. When the latter appeared, a great shout of joy arose from the Hawaiians, who believed they were coming to the aid of Queen Emma. When they joined the American marines and marched with them to the courthouse, many of the natives

broke into tears. Then, gradually, with bitterness in their hearts, the crowd dispersed. During the following week foreign marines stood guard at the courthouse and Iolani Palace.

The tragic, mad melee was over, but the bitterness it engendered was to last for many a day. "Where were those who planned the trickery? Well—where they always are. In hiding," one witness wrote, and *Nuhou* echoed, "Yes. Where were they?" Answering its own question: "They were afraid to come out in the open . . . they work in an underhand manner . . . using others to do their work. . . . It should have been handled firmly with full explanation to the people."

At high noon, February 13, the oath of office was administered to the new king in the presence of Government officials and foreign diplomats at Kinau Hale, a private residence near the palace, those responsible not daring to risk another public demonstration by having the ceremony performed in public. The proclamation of accession was read from the courthouse steps and in other parts of the city. Queen Emma then acknowledged Kalakaua as king.

Said the *Advertiser*: "Kalakaua is king. We who were first to place his name before the nation . . . seize also the first opportunity to proclaim him . . . King of the Hawaiian Islands and to prognosticate for him a long, useful, and happy reign."

The *Gazette*, after praising his ability, his lineage, reiterated its confidence that he would choose good advisors: "On the sagacity of his choice much of the success of his reign will depend."

Announcement of a cabinet was made three days later. It comprised three foreigners and one Hawaiian, Governor Nahaolelua of Maui. "Since it was necessary to appoint one

Hawaiian," said the *Gazette*, "the governor seems to be the person most deserving of the honor."

Further to placate the people it was announced by the cabinet members that "No cession of territory will ever be proposed on any ground or pretense whatever."

Meanwhile, as the foreigners busied themselves with plans for the new regime, the Hawaiians remained beside Lunalilo's bier, weeping for a past fast disappearing. When his wasted body was lifted from the feather cloak upon which it had lain in state, to be placed in the casket, his father cried: "Wrap the cloak around him. He is the last of our line; it belongs to him."

Buried first in the Royal Mausoleum far up in misty Nuuanu Valley, his body was later transferred, as he had requested, to a simple tomb among the poorer of his subjects whom he had loved with measureless devotion. An era of Hawaiian history had died with him. The Hawaii of the Kamehamehas was gone forever.

## CHAPTER 3

# The People Meet Their New King

KING KALAKAUA, born November 16, 1836, traced his ancestry back to the High Chief Pilikaeaea from whose loins had come progenitors of all the great Island leaders including Kamehameha the Great. Each branch of this noble family selected some natural phenomenon as symbolic of its divine origin. The Kamehamehas chose torrential rains, the Lunalilos the *makole*, a blood-red mist; for the Kalakaua Dynasty its founder used the noonday sun, symbolized by a



flaming torch at midday, a privilege inherited from the High Chief Iwi-kau-i-kaua, who said:

“When the sun is high in the heavens look to me, and by the sign of this flame you will know me and my seed after me.” A burning torch at noon was, hereafter, to proclaim the presence of a member of the Kalakaua Dynasty.

The first act of His Majesty, being childless, was to name his brother, nineteen-year-old Prince Leleihoku, heir apparent. Created Princesses of the Realm were the king's two sisters. The elder, Lydia-o-Kinau, born in 1838, assumed the title Princess Liliuokalani—a name that was to become world famous. Her husband was Oahu's Governor John Owen Dominis, an American of Italian ancestry; they had no children. Miriam Auhea, twenty-one years old, became Princess Likelike. Fair of skin and extraordinarily beautiful, she had but recently married a Scotsman, Archibald S. Cleghorn.

Three nephews of Queen Consort Kapiolani were designated Princes of the Realm under new titles, although as descendants of King Kaumualii of Kauai they ranked among the highest nobility. David became Prince Kawananakoa; Kuhio, Prince Kalaniana'ole; and Edward, Prince Kealiiahonui. All three were successors designate to the throne. Thus did King Kalakaua establish a succession sufficient in numbers to forfend legislative elections.

Immediately following Kalakaua's inauguration, the Legislature met in brief session to confirm his election, and despite the recent unhappy events a great cheer arose when His Majesty entered the Legislative Hall. “His personal appearance and self-possession,” reported *Nuhou*, “impressed all observers with the feeling that he was worthy of his position.”

Speaking first of the kingdom's general welfare, the king

then turned to "the subject that awakens my greatest solicitude—the increase of my people. To this point I desire to direct your earnest attention. Among other things I suggest special exemption in favor of those who rear large families." It was a subject of great concern to recent Hawaiian sovereigns.

During the century since 1778, when British discoverer Captain James Cook, R.N., had estimated the native population at 400,000, it had dwindled to 50,000. Impartial observers agreed that the cause of this tragic decline lay not within the Hawaiians themselves but in the alien civilization that had pushed in upon them with attendant diseases against which they had no immunity. Wrote newsman David Adee:

Born in a land that rendered them tranquil of mind and indifferent to acquisition . . . they were unable to cope with an aggressive, avaricious, and self-assertive civilization . . . Calvinism broke down their spirits as European garments broke down their health. . . .

His conclusion was: "They would have been better off if their islands had been left undiscovered and unmeddled with altogether."

King Kalakaua, with a profound understanding of the age into which he was born, wasted no time grieving over the past, however, as he prepared to use every force at his command for rehabilitation of his race. In his first public pronouncement he gave the "watchword" chosen for his reign: *Ho'oulu Lahui* (Increase of the People). "I shall endeavor to preserve and increase the people that they shall multiply and fill the land with chiefs and commoners."

Setting out on the traditional interisland tour taken by

each new ruler, the king, accompanied by the Queen Consort and a large entourage, went first to the island of Kauai. As their SS *Kilauea* approached Nawiliwili Harbor a mighty *aloha* rose from thousands of loyal throats. In every direction the landscape was dotted with flaming *kukui* torches, and musicians sent their welcoming melodies out over the waves as the royal party was rowed ashore to walk over a carpet of flowers spread before them by young boys and girls.

His Majesty addressed the multitude, voicing sentiments that were to be repeated on each island throughout the tour. After expressing his happiness at being with them he referred tactfully to the disturbances at his election, saying he hoped that the blood shed then would serve to draw the people closer together as had the blood of Kamehameha's warriors in the creation of the United Kingdom of Hawaii.

He spoke of his ardent desire to revive the land, revivify the people, "that we may be restored to our former position of pride and power in our own land." Noting the large number of children in the audience, he praised the parents of large families: "You are the hope of the nation." When he had finished speaking, the people impulsively moved close, the old folks kneeling and pressing his hand to their cheeks. For each one their king had words of affection that sent them away with hearts aglow.

"From that moment," wrote one of the accompanying newsmen, "His Majesty held the hearts of the people completely . . . and when we set forth to circle the island . . . everyone who could raise a horse traveled in the king's train."

In reporting the king's triumphal tour, newsmen from the *Gazette* and the *Advertiser* stressed the importance to

the business world of the people's devotion to their sovereign and David Malo of *Nuhou* told of the dramatic, emotional side as the people learned to know, and love, this new ruler. By swift "coconut wireless" word of his affectionate concern for the people's welfare sped before him and the road to Hanalei was lined with his subjects who called out fervently to him as he passed.

As the royal cavalcade approached Hanalei Valley it was met by a party of young girls on horseback, flower-bedecked, their gay *pa'u* bifurcated riding skirts flowing to the ground. After greeting Their Majesties with a song, the riders galloped away, halting to form a graceful guard of honor before an archway of flowers at the entrance to the valley. Through the huge archway made of evergreens into which had been woven in golden flowers the words *Ho' okahi Pu'uwai* (One Heart) the royal party drove over a roadway of blossoms scattered before them by white-clad boys and girls. There was no cheering from the crowds lining the way as the royal carriage moved slowly into the lovely valley often compared in beauty to the Vale of Kashmir, only a reverential silence, punctuated occasionally with low chanting by the old people or smothered cries of joy by the younger ones.

At the home of Judge E. K. Lilikalani the royal party entered a driveway lined with flaming torches. Over the doorway of the great house where their hosts awaited them was the high-noon sun formed of golden flowers, symbol of the House of Kalakaua.

That night an elaborate feast was spread under the trees and during the evening people from the surrounding countryside came bearing gifts for their sovereigns. Songs especially composed for the occasion were sung and when the king and Princess Liliuokalani, both talented com-



posers and singers, responded with songs they had written for the people, "hearts were near to bursting with joy," wrote David Malo.

The story of that first day on the island of Kauai was to be repeated on every island, and when the *Kilauea* sailed for the island of Maui the newsmen reported that Their Majesties had left behind a people united in love for their new rulers.

Maui greeted the royal party with a fleet of torchlit canoes filled with singers. Bonfires illuminated the shore line for six miles, and every house in the village of Lahaina was gay with colored lanterns, all streets lined with *kukui* torches that glowed like golden flowers. Speaking from the steps of Governor Nahaolelua's home, the king addressed a great crowd:

My people, I have come hither to see you as my children that you may look upon me as your father . . . I desire to incite you toward the renewal of our nation, the extinction of which has been prophesied by some of the foreigners. Shall we sit by and see the structure erected by our fathers fall to pieces? If the house is dilapidated let us repair it; let us renovate ourselves to the end that . . . the nation may grow again with new life and vigor.

Since plans called for a return visit to include the adjoining island of Molokai, the royal party sailed the following day for the island of Hawaii, "land of Pele." And as the *Kilauea* skirted the shore line of the "Big Island," David Malo recorded His Majesty's joy as they passed "the lovely valley of Waipio . . . the bold coast of Hamakua . . . the towering beauty of Mauna Kea clothed in a virgin robe of snowy whiteness."

When the *Kilauea* dropped anchor in Hilo Bay at noon, April 3, "daylight torches formed a line of welcome and the people joyously feasted their eyes on their beloved new chief." Governor Kipi, first to board ship, escorted Their Majesties ashore where the king addressed the waiting throng, saying: "You of the land of my ancestors are among my most beloved children . . ." Replied Governor Kipi ". . . We give our full hearts unto you, O Chief . . ."

The request of a Mr. Wahine that the king make Hilo his capital "so as to avoid the perils and intrigues of that corrupt city of Honolulu" brought a salvo of applause. And the people drew closer, "blessing His Majesty for coming to talk with the poor and loyal people of the soil."

The following morning the *Kilauea* set out to circle the island, stopping at each place where it was possible to go ashore. Each gathering closed with singing led by His Majesty and Princess Liliuokalani and this, wrote David Malo, "bound the hearts of the people to the new royal family . . . and the land was made tuneful with melodic song and the cry of *Ho'okahi Pu'uwai* (One Heart.)"

On return to the island of Maui the royal party was met at Makena by Captain James McKee, lord of fabulous Rose Ranch. With him was a company of one hundred and fifty horsemen, each bearing a lighted torch, and "the line of fire moving up the ascent to the McKee mansion was like a stream of burning lava flowing upward toward the crater of Haleakala. . . . A blaze of torches outlined the great central mansion set in magnificent grounds filled with trees and plants brought from all lands. . . ."

Captain McKee was a New England shipmaster who had made his home in Hawaii since 1843 and his estate high on the mountainside at Ulupalakua was famed throughout the Pacific. There, with his wife, two sons, and six beautiful

daughters he reigned, a host supreme. The feast tendered Their Majesties that night was harbinger of many gala occasions which were to enliven with color and melody the brilliant reign of King Kalakaua.

The next three days were filled with gaiety such as placid Maui had not known since coming of the foreigners. Each day the king rode forth on a handsome white horse with a picturesque escort of young people who sang as they galloped along roads marked with flaming torches and decorated with flower arches bearing affectionate greetings to His Majesty. Always there were crowds along the highways, waiting for a glimpse of this new ruler who had set aglow the hearts of his people, and each night there were feasts with *hula* dancing and music, joined in by the king, whose melodious voice filled the air with harmony and the hearts of his people with happiness.

On the fourth day the royal party sailed for the island of Molokai that the king might see and talk with the most tragic segment of his people—the more than six hundred lepers in isolated Kalaupapa. Going ashore at the settlement, he spoke tenderly to “my afflicted children” and talked earnestly with Father Damien, the Belgian priest “who has given so freely of his life to this woeful and dangerous parish.” After three hours ashore the entourage re-embarked, leaving contented hearts even in lonely, tragic Kalaupapa.

Nearing Honolulu at ten o'clock that night, the royal party found the shore line alight with bonfires from Koko Head to Moanalua and the harbor “alive with a dance of fire as swarming canoes bearing hundreds of torches went out to meet their king.” Foreign vessels in port, gaily decorated with colored lanterns, saluted with a barrage of sky-rockets while guns from Punchbowl roared a welcome and

the Chinese community "set off a cannonading of firecrackers such as had never been heard before." The tower of the Catholic cathedral was "afame with blazing lights" and atop Punchbowl crater gleamed a fourteen-foot transparency KA MO'I—The King!

To thunderous cheers of thousands Their Majesties came ashore over a carpet of flowers to find that the people had unhitched the horses from their flower-bedecked carriage and, "shouting joyfully, pulled them triumphantly all the way to the palace over a roadway covered with rushes and marked with arches of evergreens and lined with flaming torches." Over the palace entrance was a great wreath of flowers held by two *kahili* bearers "and as the King and Queen approached, the wreath was lowered to allow them to walk over it . . . raised again, all others had to stoop to go beneath it on entering."

The royal progress was not yet complete. Early next morning the king and the queen set forth on a tour of Oahu. At Makapuu Point they were met by a large group of horsemen led by two members of the sacred order of *Ali'i Mahu*, masked in the ancient style so that only the eyes were visible. They formed a guard of honor to the home of the Hon. John A. Cummins, an Anglo-Hawaiian famed for bountiful entertainment. The feast prepared for Their Majesties was in customary lavish style; there was music and dancing, and throughout the afternoon people of the countryside came bearing gifts for their new rulers.

In leisurely progress around the island, the royal party was sumptuously entertained at each stop, one of which was at the home of Achuck, a wealthy Chinese merchant, where toasts to Our King! rang out continuously during the feast. Came next a great *luau* at the home of William Lane (formerly of County Cork) and his Hawaiian wife. Their spa-



cious home had been transformed into a bower of beauty with great ohia trees transplanted from the mountains to form an enclosure for the *luau* table and entertainment. In years to come the twelve Lane children—six sons and six daughters—were to become the king's most loyal supporters.

But even more pleasing to the king than feasting and entertainment was his visit to the Mormon settlement at Laie where he saw Hawaiians "numerous, healthy, and industrious . . . that is what I want for my people."

On the outskirts of Honolulu the royal party was met by a troop of Hawaiian cavalry in full dress to escort them through streets lined with cheering people. The king's foreign supporters rejoiced that as a result of the tour "old wounds have been healed." Said the *Gazette* complacently, "Now no more ugly stories will be sent to America about conditions in the Islands." Agreed the *Advertiser*, "The king's royal progress has never been equaled in the Islands since the first Kamehameha. In office only two months . . . he has restored the people's confidence."

*Nuhou* editor Walter Murray Gibson called upon the king to make his "a personal rule like the chiefs of old . . . make no concessions to mercenary rings who would shape the welfare of the country to suit their interests. . . . And let there be no terrors of law or religion leading to foeticide such as the Missionary Law of *Moe Kolohe* under which young parents are imprisoned if the baby comes before the allotted time. Let not officers be pimps of justice to harass Hawaiians in maintenance of a moral standard they cannot understand. . . . Let King Kalakaua have children, come how they may, to fill his kingdom!"

Gibson's emotional plea brought jeers from the merchant-owned newspapers to which *Nuhou* was "that bastard sheet."

The pronouncements of these two opposing groups of foreigners, made at the beginning of King Kalakaua's reign, thus foreshadowed the turbulent days ahead as each side sought to influence and control the destiny of the Hawaiian Kingdom.

## CHAPTER 4

### A Reciprocity Treaty with the United States

REGAL splendor marked the opening of the 1875 Legislature. The Royal Hawaiian Band, led by Captain Henri Berger, filled the air with martial music as the royal family appeared on the *lanā'i* of Iolani Palace, flanked by four handsome youths bearing the royal standards, brilliant feather *kahilis*. The colorful cortege then marched between lines of elated subjects across King Street to Ali'iolani Hale, the Government House.

Within the Legislative Hall high government officials, foreign diplomats, officers of foreign ships, and "the elite of Honolulu society" awaited them, the elaborate Parisian toilettes of the women and the gold-braided uniforms of officials a scintillating picture. As the king, accompanied by *kahili* and spear bearers, took his place on a dais, behind which was draped the golden cloak of Kamehameha the Great, a murmur of approval rustled through the gathering. More than six feet tall and of commanding mien, Kalakaua Rex was the picture of regal dignity. In a rich, well-modulated voice and speaking such flawless English as to

win nods of approval from the Europeans, he began his first official address to the nation.

Reviewing first the kingdom's resources and needs, he then discussed the problems of labor, schools, highways, taxes, and outlined his plan for requesting a reciprocity treaty with the United States, emphasizing that no lease of Pearl River would be included since "cession of any portion of the national territory is not in consonance with the feeling of the people." In closing he returned to the subject nearest his heart, the rehabilitation of his people. Requesting that the Board of Health be instructed to "devise means for preserving the lives of infants," he asked also that parents of large families be tax exempt.

A reporter for California's San Jose *Mercury*, present, wrote that in his latter request the king exhibited better judgment than the business leaders: "The kingdom is voting large sums of money for populating the country with foreign immigration; the king suggests a wiser course."

During the following weeks bills introduced by native Hawaiian legislators indicated a strong upsurge of nationalism. First, one forbidding marriages between natives and foreigners. Said the Hon. Kakina of Maui, "Leprosy and syphilis are foreign diseases . . . let us forbid foreigners from coming ashore and in less than two years all sickness will disappear and we will again become strong, happy people as in the days of our ancestors." The Hon. Kaukana announced that he was preparing a bill "for increasing the Hawaiian race."

Foreign members laughed at these bills "of a frivolous nature" but were much disturbed by one limiting the work day to nine hours. Hotly opposed by the planters, this measure was staunchly defended by the Hon. Kauai, who warned

"The judgment of God will descend upon masters who overwork their servants." Debate was waxing furious when Hawaiian interest was diverted to a bill introduced by Representative Kuokanu of Kauai to forbid the sale of any more land to foreigners. "It is the cry of the country!" he declared to the approving shouts of his Hawaiian colleagues.

The manner in which the foreigners had acquired their lands was a subject always sure to arouse the Hawaiian fighting spirit. Prior to the coming of outsiders, all lands of the kingdom were owned by the chiefs, the commoners living upon them in return for a share of produce and labor. Unlike the contemporary peasants of Europe, Hawaiians were never bound to the soil but were free to move at will to the land of any leader of their choice, thus giving them a sense of freedom and guaranteeing good treatment from the chiefs whose wealth and welfare rested upon man power.

This system, entirely satisfactory to the Hawaiians, did not please foreigners who wanted lands in fee simple and to that end worked constantly until finally, in 1849, they were successful in persuading Kamehameha III to divide the lands of the kingdom under a plan called the Great *Mahele* (division) of lands. As presented to the king, it sounded plausible. One third to him as crown lands, another third to the chiefs, and the final third, more than a million acres, to be divided among the commoners.

With no understanding of its purpose and in the belief that he was doing a great and generous thing for his people, Kamehameha III finally consented. Yet before his death five years later the real purpose of the *Mahele* became apparent, and with bitterness he saw the lands of his kingdom passing rapidly into the hands of foreigners. Now, less than



thirty years later, the worst of his fears had materialized and the majority of the Hawaiians were landless.

To prevent a similar disaster to crown lands, private property of the reigning monarch, Kamehameha V made them inalienable forever, all income going directly to the incumbent ruler instead of into the coffers of the kingdom. This irked the "kingmakers" greatly and their newspapers were urging that the law be changed. "The crown lands," said the *Gazette*, "are a dead weight . . . they should be in private hands." Said the *Advertiser*, "The Government should never be a landholder."

Sensing another raid on their lands, the Hawaiians dropped their debate on labor and united against further land trickery, and the "kingmakers," fearful of arousing them against the reciprocity treaty, refrained from further reference to the crown lands.

The sugar planters' reciprocity bill, intended to "facilitate beforehand any treaty that might be obtained between sessions," was expected to prove to the American Government that "the Hawaiians . . . desire the treaty." Urging its passage, the *Advertiser* reminded: "The native opinion is important and must not be ignored" and begged that the Hawaiians not be antagonized.

The Hawaiians had made the happy discovery that, when truthfully informed, the American people sided with them rather than with the foreign merchants and planters, therefore the writing of letters to American congressmen had become "an old Hawaiian custom" cheered on by many visiting Americans. Wrote Bostonian David Adee: "While there I found myself saying unconsciously but with a will, 'Hawaii for Hawaiians' . . . any normal American would feel the same way. It is an American basic instinct."

Not all of the letter writers were Hawaiians, one of the

most ardent opponents of the "kingmakers" imperialistic plans being Captain James A. King, a Scotsman married to a Hawaiian. His scholarly letters to United States senators telling of the machinations of the foreign businessmen provided them with an accurate picture of the situation, and the *Gazette* denounced him angrily as an enemy of Island progress.

Fearful of stimulating this potent letter-writing brigade, the *Advertiser* urged that every effort be made "to keep the people satisfied here at home so they will not send bad reports to Washington. . . . There must be no demonstration here that would give the Senate a bad impression. . . . The situation needs our best skill."

The planters wooed the native Hawaiian legislators by various means. When flattery and gifts failed, pressures were brought to bear. But although the Reciprocity Bill had the king's endorsement the Hawaiians still hesitated, fearing its passage would lead to eventual American annexation of their islands. When time for the final vote drew near, lobbyists for the bill reverted to tactics employed at the king's election and great amounts of liquor were carried daily into the Legislative Hall.

It was then that editor Whitney of the *Gazette* experienced one of his frequent reversion to the New England conscience of his missionary father and, in an angry editorial, charged the planters with plying the legislators with rum to get their votes. This was not Whitney's first departure from the "family fold." When the reciprocity treaty was before the United States Congress in 1867, his references to the plantations as "slave labor camps," read on the floor of the Senate, brought about its defeat. Now, "at it again," he was given a tongue-lashing by the *Advertiser* which recalled:

The main cause of our failure then was because we were "wounded in our own house." . . . It will be but a short while before this shameful untruth will be copied in the newspapers of America . . . we must stop the mouth of this outrageous libeler of a whole nation.

Editor Whitney's fever of indignation had not yet run its course and when the bill was finally passed he wrote that "rum alone influenced the votes of the Representatives," and the *Advertiser*, in near despair, pictured a United States Senator reading this quotation and saying, "Now, gentlemen, this desire for reciprocity does not, under the circumstances, amount to a great deal . . . [we should] attach no weight to anything such a set of legislative rummies might say or do." The editorial concluded: ". . . a combination of sugar senators from the Southland . . . aided by a small party of unreasoning malcontents here at home. . . . No wonder we have failed!"

The recalcitrant Whitney's revolt was short-lived. He was soon brought "to a reasonable state of mind," and when the bill was ready for presentation to Washington his *Gazette* joined the *Advertiser* in calling for "a united home front." Unabashed by direct quotations from his previous editorials per contra, he cried, "Let there be no fire from the rear as there was in 1867!"

With legislative approval of the treaty secure, the king now appointed Chief Justice E. H. Allen, former United States Consul to Hawaii, and the Hon. H. A. P. Carter, Island-born American, as special commissioners to Washington to prepare the way for a visit by His Majesty to the capital, expected by the planters to be their trump card in gaining the treaty. As the commissioners departed, the *Advertiser* again begged letter writers not to hamper their

efforts, "We want them to go . . . boldly, honestly, as representing the people of the Hawaiian Islands, leaving no room for injurious suspicions."

Arrived in Washington, Messrs Allen and Carter had no difficulty in obtaining a formal invitation for the king to visit the capital as guest of the United States Government. United States Minister Henry A. Peirce in Honolulu was notified that the USS *Benicia*, then in port, would be at His Majesty's service to convey him to San Francisco.

As guarantee that the king's trip to Washington would have the complete backing of the Hawaiian people, the "kingmakers" sent him on another quick tour of the Islands to explain the treaty's purpose and necessity.

Accompanied by newsmen, the king went first to the island of Hawaii where they were guests of Captain Thomas Spencer, retired British sea captain, and his Hawaiian wife, called "the most beloved couple on the island." The newsmen reported: "We were received in true Spencerian style with English, American, and Hawaiian flags flying . . . sat down to a bountiful lunch . . . much singing and cheering . . . more than one thousand people gathered to hear His Majesty speak."

Touring the island, the king explained the purpose of his forthcoming trip to Washington, asked the people to trust him, and assured them he would protect their interests. The crowds lustily cheered his every word. On each island the same story was repeated, "A veritable love feast," reported the newsmen, "with people bringing gifts, carrying babies to be blessed by the touch of His Majesty."

At the close of each talk in English, the king spoke to his people in their native tongue, asking that they organize local chapters of *Ho'oulu Lahui*: under its protection, he promised, the former prestige of the race would be restored. Cries of "*Aloha aina*" (beloved country) convinced foreign



newsmen that he was winning support for the treaty and they reported: "He explains away any misgivings and leaves the people happy and satisfied."

It was arranged that the king sail for San Francisco on November 17, the day after an elaborate celebration of his birthday at which the people were encouraged to "show a great demonstration of affection for him. . . . It is important that we impress Congress with the belief that all the people of Hawaii want a treaty, and not just a few. The situation," said the *Advertiser*, "needs our best skill, with work and zeal both at home and abroad."

A day of prayer was held in all churches "for His Majesty's protection and guidance" and when, accompanied by Oahu's Governor Dominis, Maui's Governor Kapena, United States Minister Henry Peirce, and a staff of servants, he was piped aboard the USS *Benicia* it could be truly said that "the hearts of the people were with him." Once again the "kingmakers" congratulated themselves on their good judgment in backing a personage so able, intelligent, and beloved. Their judgment was to be confirmed over and over again in the months to come as the American people took King Kalakaua warmly to their hearts.

## CHAPTER 5

### King Kalakaua Captivates America

IN Washington, Commissioners Allen and Carter had laid an effective groundwork for King Kalakaua's arrival, and the American press, assured that the Hawaiians wanted the treaty, was prepared to support his mission without reservation. Said the New York *Herald*:

The King of the Sandwich Islands is a novelty and a prize. His country is sandwiched between America and Asia and is valuable to both continents. To the commerce of the Pacific it is important, and especially so to America. . . . We interpret his visit as an evidence of good will to the American nation and it will be our fault if he returns to Honolulu disappointed in his trip. . . . He is no common king but one to whom we can give our allegiance with a clear conscience for we believe him to be a good man who has the happiness of his nation at heart, and a good friend of the American people. Long live King Kalakaua and long may he reign!

In San Francisco awaited a dispatch from President Grant: "The President of the United States extends the cordial welcome of the nation to his great and good friend His Royal Highness Kalakaua," and from that moment the king was accorded all the honors due the ruler of a friendly, independent country. Welcomed first as an important guest of the nation, his tour was to become a personal triumph. Said the San Francisco *Bulletin*, "His winning ways win the respect and esteem of everyone."

Met by San Francisco's Mayor Otis, the royal party was driven to the Grand Hotel through streets crowded with people eager to catch a glimpse of "a real king." More than five thousand, waiting outside the hotel, refused to leave until His Majesty appeared on the balcony, accompanied by Mayor Otis, who said: "Fellow citizens, I have the distinguished honor of presenting to you His Majesty King Kalakaua, Sovereign of the Sandwich Islands. He is now the honored guest of our republic and your welcome is fitting."

The newspaper stories were rich in detail, one describing

his hotel rooms "where evergreens were entwined all over the doors and furniture, and a magnificent pyramid on the center table of fragrant fruit and flowers. . . ." Another described the king's "suit of black broadcloth of the most fashionable cut. . . ." The *Chronicle* found him "tall and finely formed," but the reporter, while praising his "faultless attire," regretted that he wore none of the famed gorgeous raiment of the Islands: "We remember wonderful tales of a royal mantle made of the golden breasts of tropical birds. . . . I am sure he could have held a scepter with supremest dignity."

Reported the *Alta*: "This is the first time that Republican America has ever had on her soil a real king. Luckily, he is a gentleman as well as a king—a well-educated, intelligent, popular gentleman, which is a better term even than that which designates his rank. . . . He has the capacity of a statesman."

At a public reception in the Grand Hotel, and also at the official levee given the following day by Mayor Otis, the king, Governor Dominis, and Governor Kapena, to the delight of the guests, wore dashing European-type military uniforms, with decorations of royal orders and red sashes. They were a handsome trio, and the San Francisco papers reported that "the society ladies were eager to press the royal palm . . . Governor Kapena also won feminine approval."

When the royal party left for Washington in the President's private car decorated with Hawaiian and American flags, they were accompanied by General J. M. Schofield, representing President Grant. The journey across the country was a triumphal progress. Great crowds awaited the Islanders, and republican America quivered with delight at sight of a real king. Wrote one newsman: "Monarchs

with real crowns seldom visit this country . . . we cannot but admit our delight. And when His Majesty reaches Washington we trust that Secretary Fish will assure him that he does us honor."

The welcome given the royal party in Washington was described as "stupendous." Met at the railway station by an official group headed by Secretary of State Hamilton Fish, they were smartly saluted by two marine battalions which held back thousands of people eager to see, to touch, His Hawaiian Majesty. Preceded and followed by marines, they were driven in open carriages through streets lined with cheering crowds, and at the Arlington Hotel were ushered into a ten-room suite filled with flowers.

At an afternoon reception the royal guests were presented to members of the Cabinet, Senate, House of Representatives, and the diplomatic corps, and that night they were honored at a formal White House dinner. On December 18 the king was presented to Congress, and as His Majesty, in military uniform, was escorted down the center aisle of the House of Representatives by Senator Cameron and Representative Orth, chairman of the Foreign Relations Committee, a buzz of admiration rippled through the crowded galleries. A newsman described him as "The most distinguished-looking man on the floor."

Said the speaker of the House: "Your Majesty, on behalf of the American Congress I welcome you. . . . Our people cherish for your subjects the most friendly regard. They trust and believe that the relations of the two countries will always be as peaceful as the great sea that rolls between us—uniting and not dividing us."

During the following days the king held conferences with top government officials and upon his assurance that a reciprocity treaty was desired by his people, plans were made



for drawing it at once. Said one newspaper: "It is important to America that the Sandwich Islands do not fall into the hands of a foreign power, therefore the treaty is most important so as to bind them to America." On the king's departure for New York he was described as having "a kingly dignity, without pride, pretense, or ostentation, which has gained for him universal admiration."

New York's welcome to the royal party was tumultuous. Whenever the king appeared, bands played *Hawaii Pono'i*, the Hawaiian national anthem; crowds almost mobbed him and, said the *New York World*, "the greatest of all our land turned out to honor him." P. T. Barnum invited him to the Hippodrome and, to the indignation of some officials, had him driven around the huge arena to the circus band's blaring *The King of the Cannibal Islands*. Such incidents were accepted by King Kalakaua with smiling good nature and newsmen, praising his impeccable behavior under all circumstances, said: "He fills his station with grace and dignity but without hauteur . . . as to the manner born."

Boston gave him a welcome "equally cordial though less demonstrative than New York." The *Boston Post* urged that he be treated with as much respect as if he were "the czar of all the Russias."

A former resident of Hawaii, Dr. R. W. Wood, then living in Boston, wrote to Samuel Damon in Honolulu that "His kingly dignity . . . and modest, frank, and cordial bearing have won all hearts. . . . Everywhere he sows pure wheat and no tares . . . always says and does the right thing at the right time and place. . . . He is not coached . . . and has never made a mistake. . . . His own good sense and tact have been his only advisors and prompters and these appear never to have forsaken him. . . . His visit appears to have put the people and press in a good humor

. . . so that disapprobation is less to be feared now by members of Congress in the matter of the treaty than at any former period. . . .”

Stories of Hawaii's gracious sovereign having spread quickly across the country, the homeward trip proved a greater triumph than the first crossing. By the time the royal party reached Chicago, demonstrations prompted some of that city's newspapers to observe that while “the antics of our own officials lean to the burlesque . . . the king was completely self-possessed. . . . He has a fine presence and his features beam with intelligence.”

Apparently in an effort to explain the extraordinary personality of the king, a rumor spread that his father was an American sea captain, his mother a Hawaiian princess. When the story reached Honolulu the *Advertiser* indignantly denied the “canard,” saying that His Majesty's royal descent was too well established for any question as to his ancestry.

In San Francisco, the USS *Pensacola* awaited the royal party and, following further public demonstrations, they sailed for home carrying the good will of Californians. Said the *Bulletin*: “Wherever the king went he melted down all antagonisms. Here was a king—and something more. He was a clever businessman who knew exactly what he wanted and pushed for it by the only method by which it was possible to gain his point.”

The *Alta* prophesied that if the Reciprocity Treaty passed Congress, it would be because of “the favorable impression made by his appearance, his conversation, his manners. . . . He has more of the qualities which honor the name and state of king than can all the form and ceremony of courts. . . . The treaty would probably not pass this year, perhaps never, if King David had stayed at home.”

With arrival of the USS *Pensacola* at Honolulu on February 15, 1875, the people gave their homing monarch the greatest ovation ever tendered a Hawaiian ruler. Every church bell pealed a welcome. There were salutes from ship and shore, and when the king came down the gangway cheers of waiting thousands filled plain and valley and echoed from the mountain background. Preceded by a cavalry troop and the Household Guards, His Majesty's flower-bedecked carriage passed through streets carpeted with rushes and lined with flaming *kukui* torches. Hundreds of children bearing baskets of flowers followed the carriage and thousands—Hawaiians and foreigners—cheered themselves hoarse.

At Iolani Palace top government officials waited, and their spokesman, Supreme Court Justice Sanford B. Dole, said: ". . . We have rejoiced at the reception given you in America . . . we honor the unfailing manliness, modesty, and dignity with which you, Sire, have received their attentions. In the name of all Hawaiians . . . we welcome you to your native land."

Said the *Advertiser*: ". . . even if the treaty should fail, America will have a higher opinion of these islands because of the good impression made by our king."

This time the treaty did not fail. Offered only mild opposition by the sugar-growing states of the South, it passed the Senate by a vote of 51 to 12, and now lacked only the passage of an Enabling Act. When this good news reached Honolulu on April 14, it set off a celebration that lasted a week. Said the *Gazette*: "The visit of King Kalakaua . . . secured this boon for us. . . . His modest bearing won for him and for us an unmistakable friendship." The *Advertiser* suggested that the grateful citizenry should build a new and finer palace more worthy of His Majesty and the prestige he had brought to the Kingdom of Hawaii.

It had been a gloriously triumphant year and before its close another happy event was to rejoice Hawaiians generally and particularly the royal family. To the king's sister Princess Likelike and her Scotch husband Archibald Cleghorn was born a beautiful daughter on October 16, "And all the bells of the city rang out a merry peal in honor of the infant princess."

Her christening was on Christmas Day in St. Andrew's Cathedral where, "elegantly dressed in a baptismal robe embroidered in silk," the fair, brown-eyed baby was held in her mother's arms and given the name Victoria (for England's queen) Kawekiu Lunalilo Kalani-nui-a-hila-palapa Cleghorn. Following the church rites she was carried to Iolani Palace and at a reception for officials and friends, presented as the heir apparent.

That night the hearts of all Hawaiians were filled with happiness for the perpetuation of their kingdom seemed secure. Upon the throne sat a strongly nationalistic king who loved his people and was capable of protecting them. He had secured for the foreigners their long-sought sugar treaty. Surely they would now permit the Hawaiians to live in peace and in their own manner of happiness.

Rejoicing warmed every hearth and homestead.

## CHAPTER 6

### Sugar Treaty Begets Prosperity

SPURRED by the prospects of large profits under the Reciprocity Treaty, now ratified by the United States Congress, Island sugar planters renewed their attack on a ruling monarch's sole control of crown lands. Said the *Advertiser*: "The



old and ridiculous notions of primitive times in regard to the effects of alienation of territory should have long since been abandoned. . . . The crown lands comprise about 700,000 acres and realize to the kingdom \$20,000 annually. . . . They should be sold for the benefit of the kingdom."

Later editorials urged that "income from crown lands should go into the public treasury and their management be in the hands of the Minister of Finance."

This persistent effort to get possession of the last of their inalienable lands prompted one Hawaiian to write that the only way a native could be sure of holding a piece of land was to have a fruit tree planted on his grave. "Then the foreigners will keep the tree for its fruit and not disturb the body . . . they know nothing but greed."

The *Gazette* concentrated on labor: "The treaty has given great impetus . . . to the cultivation of sugar cane. New plantations have been started on all the islands and more are projected. The demand for labor is in excess of local supply. . . . The plantations should look beyond the bounds of this little kingdom to make up their deficiency."

Aware of bitter opposition by Hawaiians and many foreigners to continued importation of Asiatics, the editor warned that the matter must be handled carefully so as not to arouse the letter writers: "We want no more bad reports sent to Washington."

Viewing the "golden pathway" now opening for sugar planters, Editor Whitney envisioned the day when Hawaii, rich and powerful, would be able to extend her boundaries over a great Pacific empire, spreading her fields of golden cane throughout the islands of the South Pacific. "Thus as ruler of the Pacific . . . she will become the mother of the scattered Polynesian groups and bring them the blessings of Christianity, Commerce, and Civilization." Excited

by the possibilities, he made plans forthwith to abandon his editorial chair and become a sugar planter so that he, too, might be among those future rulers of the Pacific. "Sugar," he cried, "is destined most emphatically to be King!"

When King Kalakaua opened the 1876 Legislature he asked that an effort be made to solve the labor problem through "building up the Hawaiian race by a system of bounties given to parents who train up well-regulated families." To meet immediate needs, however, he requested an appropriation for bringing in Polynesians and, perhaps, East Indians. But the Hawaiian-dominated Legislature did not want *any* laborers imported and one member moved that no money at all be appropriated for immigration. "The Hawaiians would work for the planters if they were paid decent wages," said Representative Kakina of Maui, "but all they want is slaves—and we are never slaves!"

The Hawaiians then introduced their perennial bills on such subjects as prohibiting sale of lands to foreigners, marriages of foreigners to Hawaiian women, penalties for foreigners who engaged in business without first taking an oath of allegiance to the king, and a resolution asking the king to appoint none but Hawaiians to the House of Nobles. They exasperated the planters further by "their irrelevant discussion of the Treaty which they say will put gold in the pockets of the *haoles* but none for Hawaiians."

When it was rumored that the planters were going to import Japanese laborers, the *Ho'oulu Lahui* Clubs petitioned the Legislature to forbid it. They were supported by two foreigners, Walter Murray Gibson and Godfrey Rhodes, who issued a joint query, "Must Asiatics be imported whether the king and those of his race like it or not?"

This was followed by protests from like-minded foreigners who warned that if the policies of the planters prevailed "these islands will eventually be not Caucasian or Hawaiian but Oriental." Gibson called attention to the dangers from importing only males, pointing out that they already exceeded females by 7,000 in a population of only 56,000. "The continued importation of male coolies must be stopped or good-by forever to Hawaiian independence and the Hawaiian race."

A suggestion that Maoris, fellow Polynesians from New Zealand, be imported brought retort from an English visitor from that country who called the idea "positively ridiculous. . . . The Maori are landowners to a man and the suggestion of putting them to work on Hawaiian plantations would throw New Zealanders into hysterics of laughter!" The Native Act passed by the British Government, he said, "makes it impossible for anyone to get possession of Maori lands . . . not even the Government could take them. . . . No people in the Pacific are more devoted to their government than are the Maori . . . if a similar law had been enacted in Hawaii, the natives would not now be landless and discontented."

The legislative impasse on labor was finally compromised with a decision to send a ship to the South Seas for recruiting men, women, and children. Plans were made also for similar imports from Portugal where labor was said to be available. So, after months of haggling, the Legislature adjourned and the planters heaved a sigh of relief that no laws inimical to their plans had been passed.

On the closing day of the session the sudden death of Samuel Kamakau, noted native historian, ardent patriot, and member of the House of Nobles, brought grief to the kingdom. Born shortly before arrival of the first Calvinist

missionaries, Kamakau as a young man accepted their teachings but, like his fellow native historian David Malo, turned against their doctrines after being convinced that the policies they advocated would mean the eventual destruction of his nation. His last years were devoted to attempts to save his people from perils of the alien civilization, yet so highly was he respected by the foreigners that at his passing even those whom he had opposed praised his memory.

Samuel N. Castle, speaking for the foreign colony, said: "Although in recent years I grew to mistrust his political opinions . . . as a historian he stood peerless and alone among the present sons of Hawaii [representing] the characteristics of the Hawaiian unhurt by the various influences of civilization. . . . His memory was remarkably accurate and acute and his method of connecting events with periods of time surprisingly correct. . . . I know of no one today who can supply his place."

At this same time came word from London of the serious illness of another member of the House of Nobles, Charles Gordon Hopkins, able Britisher who had played an important role in Hawaiian history. Arriving in Hawaii in 1843 as a member of the British consulate staff, he married a Hawaiian girl and remained in the Islands to dedicate his life to his adopted country. At his death he left "the memory of a life devoted to the service of the Hawaiian people" and a son whose fourteen children were to establish the Hopkins name securely among the leading Anglo-Hawaiian families as "a living memorial to honor him forever."

On April 10, 1877, death came again to grieve the Hawaiians. His Royal Highness Prince Leleihoku, twenty-two-year-old heir apparent to the throne, died suddenly of rheumatic fever. A talented musician, he was loved by Hawaiians and foreigners alike. Princess Liliuokalani was then appointed



heir apparent. "She is loved and respected by all classes of society" said the *Gazette*.

Thirty-eight years of age, the princess was of commanding appearance and serious disposition. She shared her brother's concern for the welfare of the people, but not his love of gaiety. Life to her was serious, and the steadily worsening state of her people burned deeply into her soul. Her emotions were strong; her integrity impeccable; her will firm, her character incorruptible. Like the Hawaiian matriarchs of ancient days she felt herself capable and gladly accepted her new position and responsibilities. She was a devout Christian and although a member of the Episcopal Church, donated generously to all denominations.

The close of 1877 was to mark important changes in the newspaper world. Gibson's *Nuhou* had ceased publication after the election of King Kalakaua, thus leaving the newspaper field so entirely controlled by the "kingmakers" as to prompt a visitor to write that "anyone looking to them for records of history in the future will get the wrong impression because the news is so completely biased and colored."

This situation was now to be changed. The *Advertiser* was bought by a former New Yorker, Henry A. Sheldon, who had lived in Hawaii since 1846, was married to a Hawaiian, and was wholly Hawaiian in sympathies. A philosopher and intellectual, he was a friend and admirer of Walter Murray Gibson and the influence of these two men was to develop a new trend of political thinking in Hawaii, to be accentuated as Gibson's influence increased.

## CHAPTER 7

## Concerning Walter Murray Gibson

THE year 1878 was to mark the beginning of Walter Murray Gibson's rise to political power in the Hawaiian Kingdom. Within a few years he was to become the most talked-of figure in the Pacific. Worshiped as a savior by Hawaiians, he was vilified and viciously attacked by those foreigners whose subversive schemes he labored to defeat. His fanatical devotion to belief in the right of political independence for all peoples, ridiculed by the imperialists of his day, was to become the accepted philosophy of the twentieth century and a later historian was to say of him: "Gibson was right—but a hundred years too soon."

He dreamed of uniting all islands of Polynesia in one great independent confederation under leadership of the Hawaiian Kingdom. He was not the first to have that vision. Kamehameha the Great had the same dream but died before it could be carried out. A similar plan was discussed by his successors but no definite action taken until 1853, when the idea was advanced by two Englishmen, Robert C. Wyllie, Prime Minister to Kamehameha IV, and Charles St. Julian, an idealistic young Briton who, after traveling extensively through the South Seas, became convinced that the plan was feasible and the Hawaiian Kingdom "the natural head of such a confederation." Agreeing, Minister Wyllie appointed St. Julian "Commissioner and Commercial Agent to all Polynesia from the Hawaiian Kingdom" and aided his work in the Southern Islands toward that end.

With crusader enthusiasm, St. Julian set about his task. Trend of the times, however, was against his idealistic purpose. The great European powers already had begun to annex groups of Polynesian islands and everywhere his efforts were halted by a solid wall of non-Polynesian opposition.

A united Polynesia, similar in outline but differing in its objective, had been proposed by editor Whitney of the *Gazette* following ratification of the Reciprocity Treaty. His was a vision of a confederation dominated and ruled by the foreign financial leaders in Hawaii. Yet when a Polynesian confederacy truly independent of all other countries was later proposed by Gibson, Whitney joined those same leaders in denouncing and ridiculing the plan.

To understand the temperament and philosophy of Walter Murray Gibson, a brief résumé of his background is essential. He was born at sea during a raging storm in the Bay of Biscay on January 16, 1824, to English parents en route to America, and that tempest seems to have been prophetic of the turbulent life that was to be his—a life filled with drama, romance, tragedy, and incredible adventure.

A sensitive, imaginative, and deeply emotional child, the latest Gibson had little in common with his two brothers nor did he feel a nearness to his parents. His diaries often mention a pathetically lonely childhood. At twelve years of age he ran away from his Virginia home and for the next five years lived among the Indians in the mountains of North Carolina. It was there, under the influence of a wise old Indian chief, that his imagination was nurtured and the dream of a career dedicated to the unfortunate among his fellow men formulated. His entire life's pattern was to be molded upon the old chief's belief that "mine was an ancient soul, endowed with the wisdom of countless centuries and returned to earth to rescue its downtrodden peoples."

Faith in predestination was to be his polestar always in times of tribulation.

This belief in his reincarnations was shared by many of Gibson's later associates who, as evidence, pointed out that although he had no formal education after the age of twelve, his mind was a fabulous storehouse of knowledge and his mastery of languages well-nigh incredible.

Gibson was about seventeen years old when he left the Blue Ridge Mountains that had been his home for five years and wandered down into South Carolina where he met, and married, fifteen-year-old Rachel Lewis. "On the banks of the Savannah I built my little home with my own hands," he wrote, "there to live the philosopher's coveted life in my early, unambitious years. A light labor got me all I wanted of simple dress, simple food; I cared not for more than this supply of simple needs and my pine-log home. I loved the land by the Savannah shores; I loved the people that lived by these waters—the clearheaded, generous, independent men, and the fair, warmhearted women of the southern backwoods. It was a land of wild and lovely vales and shining streams. And I was a dreamer. As I gazed with pleasure on the swift waters of the Savannah and saw them flowing toward the ocean, my heart tempted me to go forth in a canoe."

In quick succession two sons, then a daughter, were born to the Gibsons and with the birth of the girl, gentle, delicate Rachel passed away after naming the child Tallulah for nearby waterfalls. Heartbroken, the young father buried his child-wife "in the heart of a primeval forest of ancient oaks and marked her grave with a marble slab engraved 'Sacred to the memory of the dear wife of my youth.'"

Throughout the rest of his life Gibson was to carry the memory of her fair, fragile beauty, seeing it in each opales-



cent dawn, every snowcapped mountain. Leaving the children with his wife's family, he departed the following year to embark upon the next phase of his remarkable life.

Now twenty-one years old, Gibson was six feet tall, slightly built, with dark hair, deep-set blue eyes, sometimes mystical, again icy-cold, a large aquiline nose, and long, slender hands which he employed expressively. His bearing was erect, aristocratic; his manner dignified, reserved, sometimes haughty; but it was his mysterious eyes that always attracted first attention as they reflected, or concealed, his emotions.

The year was 1845 and New York was in a ferment of excitement as pioneering America increased the tempo of its westward march. "At first," wrote Gibson, "I realized that that which made me feel rich among the forests would in the city keep me very poor." Still, many were the needs of the frontiersman and soon, "as though directed by unseen hands," he began a series of inventions which, within five years, were to bring him fabulous wealth.

His only previous experience of employment had been that of teaching a country school in the Carolina backwoods but soon, as a commission merchant handling "our rotary pumps, suction hose, the diaphragm filter, and my submerged whirling pan," he was to become a top name even in bustling New York. He had an elegant office on Broadway with an exquisite statue of the goddess Hebe in the window, before which great crowds gathered daily "to look at my beautiful Hebe." On the day his gold-washer machine was exhibited "with my name in gold letters by it" he wrote in his diary:

Success is mine. I am riding on the California gale of prosperity. This sudden realization of great wealth flutters my spirits rather strangely. Despite the pleas-

ure of having a large bank account I am not content. I dislike the money-getting mania. I cannot feel otherwise than a listless sense of contempt for the mere getting of gold. . . . Sometimes I feel fearful that I am being rendered prosperous for some ultimate purpose adverse to my future well-being. I would be happier if I were less successful. I see no great distinction in the mere getting of wealth.

Crowds and noisy vulgar people depressed him; pretense repelled him: "It is my unfortunate gift to be able instantly to see through spurious people. My ambitious heart has always kept me apart from vulgarizing influences. I am a philosophical observer of myself as well as others." Of those who sought only wealth he said: "They are cheating themselves out of the real values of life."

By temperament a solitary, Gibson indulged in none of the vices of the day. He neither smoked, drank, gambled, nor did he pursue the many women of easy virtue who swarmed to the bright lights of Broadway. However, he greatly enjoyed knowing the many foreign officials who were in America on diplomatic missions and had close friends among the French, Russians, and Italians. Their flattering comments on the manner in which he spoke their several languages "with understanding of the delicate nuances" convinced him once again of the truth of the old Indian's belief that he was, in truth, "an old soul."

Belles of the social world began to seek out this handsome, wealthy newcomer who drove in solitary splendor along the boulevards in an elegant carriage with high-stepping horses. "They are in love with your strangeness," said a Russian count. Gibson found this "food for vanity." But he differed with his titled friend on the subject of love. "He talks coldly of starting—and ending—love affairs. If

the impulses of love can be disciplined out of a man's heart, then no individual merit can be attached to moral conduct."

Pleased nonetheless by the adulation of beautiful women, Gibson felt "a delicious triumph" at their obvious efforts to ensnare him. "Amelia, the proud, the magnificent, is now most proudly mine. But mine I would have her be only so far as she is now. I cannot marry her. She does not fit into the pattern of my life." Of another he wrote, "She is too forward, too robust. I prefer pale faces with long eyelashes; they soothe my senses." Eventually he dismissed each one in turn with the comment, "I am not free to choose. I must follow my preordained destiny."

Into his diary, in words often florid and sentimental, Gibson poured daily his innermost thoughts, his dreams, ambitions, his doubts, and fears. Oft repeated: "I must control my feverish imagination lest it lead me astray." Repelled by "the cupidity of men of greed in the business world," he sought an opening to the greater destiny he felt to be his. "Providence has been kind. Perhaps I may yet be shown the reason for this accumulation of wealth. I still feel that my real mission is that of rescuing down-trodden humanity."

Then suddenly, unexpectedly, a new pathway opened before him. Because of his proficiency in Spanish, he was offered the appointment of Consul General to Guatemala, San Salvador, and Costa Rica. Closing out his business, he prepared to leave at once. In Washington, he stood before a painting of Indians in the Capitol dome and "gazing upon the face of Pocahontas I wept openly, my busy memory bringing back the days of my youth." Once again he dedicated himself to his chosen role.

Gibson was royally entertained in Mexico by General

Santa Anna with whom he traveled all over the country, accompanied by a large entourage of officials and soldiers; his emotional heart was stirred to its depths by the land and its people. "The weather was like a soft autumn evening in South Carolina"; the snow-covered peaks reminded him of "lovely pale virgins"; and the people "are the kind of my own heart." On leaving, he recorded: "I shall always feel a sympathy between my storm-and-mountain loving heart and these eternal crags of the Aztec plains."

Proceeding to Guatemala, he was equally enthralled by the people and land of his new field of labor, and so enamored were they of him that within a year the Government had asked that he enter their employ and build for them a navy of which he would be the admiral in command.

Returning to New York, Gibson resigned his consular commission, purchased a new revenue cutter, armed it with guns, and prepared to sail for Guatemala. Then he ran afoul of the United States Government's neutrality pact forbidding the export of arms to the Central American countries and was refused clearance.

But by this time a vision of his "proper destiny" had unrolled before his eyes "like an illuminated scroll" so, removing the guns from the schooner, he reconverted it into a luxury yacht "with great taste in her adornment," christened it *Flirt*, and prepared to sail for the Pacific where, he was now convinced, lay the scene of his pre-ordained activities. "I was most willing to believe that Providence bid me go."

A New York paper, carrying the story of his adventurous plan, told of "a fair young lady, daughter of one of the city's first families and niece of a former presidential candidate," who wanted to marry and accompany Gibson.



"She says she wishes to participate in his humanitarian plans." Her disapproving father, however, "promptly shipped her to Europe to stay with her uncle, one of America's leading ambassadors."

Gibson departed on his quixotic adventure alone.

The locale of his first Pacific episode was the Dutch East Indies. Arriving in Sumatra in the spring of 1852, he soon became intimate with the Sultan of Jambi. Fascinated by Eastern philosophy he wrote: "I found myself enthralled by the oriental belief in the change of body and of souls." He was shocked by evidence that the Europeans were taking advantage of "their weaker brothers . . . whilst seeking out routes for trade they should look for pathways into the sympathies of the Malayan soul and bring forth his fancies, dreams, and the songs of the land."

Soon rumors of a plotted rebellion among the natives reached the Dutch overlords. They promptly arrested and imprisoned Gibson, charging him with treason. At that time the Dutch permitted no foreign consuls in their Spice Islands nor did they allow foreign traders to enter the ports so, lacking means of communication with the outside world, Gibson languished in jail for a year, visited only by one friendly Dutchman and several natives, among whom was a comely young girl, Sahyeepah, who fell deeply in love with him.

In the spring of 1853 Gibson was permitted to plead his own case before a "public jury" which returned a verdict of acquittal. This was reversed by a secret tribunal and he was informed that the death penalty would be imposed immediately. But the Dutch officials had reckoned without the resourceful Sahyeepah, who bribed the guards, smuggled Gibson out of prison disguised as a Javanese, and hurried him aboard a British vessel, the *H. B. Palmer*, which had

been permitted to come into port for medical aid to the ailing wife of its skipper, Captain Charles Low. Before leaving his prison cell, Gibson drew a picture of Sahyeepah on the wall and signed it "I will return."

As the ship, departing, threaded its way through the island Straits it passed the *Flirt*, plundered, stripped, and befouled. At sight of the bedraggled wreck of his once-trim yacht Gibson wept bitterly. Thus ended, ingloriously, the first phase of his Pacific crusade.

Arrived in England, Gibson called upon the American consul in Liverpool, author Nathaniel Hawthorne, who described him as "a gentleman of refined manners, handsome figure, and a remarkably intelligent aspect. . . . When his dignified reserve was overcome he had the facility of narrating adventures with wonderful eloquence . . . tales so admirably done that I could never more than half believe them because the genuine affairs of life are not apt to transact themselves so artistically . . . [they were like] rich embroidery on the coarse texture and dull neutral tints of truth."

One of these tales expressed Gibson's belief that through carelessness in the ship's sick bay he had been exchanged at birth with another baby and that he was, in fact, the son of a noble English couple traveling on the same vessel. Hawthorne's comment: "I fear the castle in England will not work out which I regret exceedingly for he was a most delightful companion and a very gentlemanly man."

Back again in Washington, Gibson attempted to get indemnity from The Netherlands Government for his imprisonment but negotiations to that end failed largely because of a letter he had written while in Malaya admitting his fault. The United States Government, however, took advantage of the situation to force permission from Hol-

land for the placing of American consuls throughout the Dutch East Indies and the opening of the region to trade. Thus, though Gibson lost, gains to the United States were valuable.

President Pierce then appointed Gibson to the staff of the American Legation in Paris and for several years he enjoyed official life in Europe where his "commanding appearance, courtly manners, and fluency in languages made him one of the most sought-after men in the diplomatic set." Yet his heart still yearned for the Pacific and on returning to America in 1859 he found a problem which promised exactly the career he sought.

Learning that Dr. J. M. Bernhisal, delegate to Congress from Utah, was endeavoring to solve difficulties between the Mormons and the United States Government, Gibson called upon him and suggested a plan for resettling them upon an island in the Pacific with government assistance. This was discussed with the administration but finally rejected by President Buchanan as being too costly. However, so impressed was Dr. Bernhisal with Gibson's idea, presented with intelligence and enthusiasm, that he asked him to go to Salt Lake City and talk with Brigham Young, president of the Mormon Church.

Gibson arrived in Salt Lake City in October, 1859, and immediately the practical, level-headed Brigham Young, whose wisdom had guided his people through many a difficult crisis, fell completely under the influence of this sensitive dreamer whom he took warmly to his heart. They had in common the quality of extraordinary vision.

Gibson's proposal was that the Mormons be moved to the island of Papua in the New Hebrides group or, better yet, that the church buy outright one of the smaller islands from which they could establish leadership throughout

the South Pacific. The idea appealed to President Young but, as with the United States Government, the cost was prohibitive. He suggested that Gibson study Mormon theology and if he was "satisfied of its truths and wished to become a member" he would then be sent to the Pacific to work as an elder of the Church.

Three months later, on January 15, 1860, Gibson was baptized into the Mormon Church and on the same day President Young confirmed him as a priest of Melchizedek the Church's highest order. He was blessed publicly in the tabernacle and commissioned to go forth "to all nations of the earth" but specifically to the Hawaiian Islands where the Church was already established. After a trip East to get his children, Gibson departed for Hawaii in November with his fourteen-year-old daughter Tallulah, leaving his two sons for the time being in Salt Lake City.

Ten years earlier, in 1850, the Mormons had sent their first missionaries to the Hawaiian Islands where their sensitive understanding of the natives had won several thousand converts. Seeking land for a settlement, the leaders decided on the picturesque but barren valley Palawai on the small island of Lanai, after finding that water could be had by digging wells. The site, about 10,000 acres, was owned by a Hawaiian, Haalelea, who suggested that the Church use it without charge until they were satisfied of its practicality. Later, a contract was drawn under which it was agreed that after January, 1858, the Mormons would pay \$175 annual rental for the next fifteen years.

Wells were dug, and as soon as water was plentiful converts were brought in from the other islands. Food crops were planted, cattle imported, and the "City of Joseph" laid out. Before building could be started, however, the Elders were recalled to Utah because of difficulties at



home. Prior to their departure Haalelea suggested that they buy his land outright for \$300. This was not done, however, and the land remained in Haalelea's possession.

Gibson arrived in Honolulu July 4, 1861, but did not at first disclose his Mormon connections. He gave a series of lectures on "The ethnology of the Malaysian and Polynesian races" and the newspapers, praising his brilliant mind and charming personality, declared him to be "the most distinguished visitor we have had for many a day." He was warmly welcomed by United States Commissioner Thomas J. Dryer.

En route to Hawaii Gibson had met two Americans, H. B. Eddy and C. O. Cummings who, fascinated by his plans for the Mormon Church in the Pacific, became converts and asked to participate in the project. While he was lecturing in Honolulu they traveled over the other islands seeking recruits for the settlement on Lanai.

When Gibson's true purpose became known, the planter-owned newspapers turned against him angrily, accusing him of deception and of plotting some diabolical scheme. Commissioner Dryer, learning he was a southerner, suspected him of being a "secessionist," up to traitorous tricks against the Union. The rumor that he was planning to bring in 10,000 Mormons from America greatly aroused the foreign financial rulers of the Islands who, fearful of competition, denounced Mormonism in general and Gibson in particular. They urged the king to deport him at once.

So furious did the attack become that Gibson wrote a lengthy letter to Prime Minister Robert C. Wyllie giving assurance that he came with no evil purpose but only with a desire to help the natives. "My heart is with the Oceanic

ances. I was born on the ocean and have always felt a sort of brotherhood with islanders. . . .”

Minister Wyllie reported to the king: “He is an enthusiast . . . but has no plans hostile to you or your people as an Independent Nation, rather the reverse.” With assurance of protection from the Government, Gibson then proceeded with organization of the Lanai settlement.

Entries in his diaries make it evident that, from the beginning, Gibson looked upon the project as a personal rather than a Mormon Church enterprise. Enchanted with the island, he wrote:

My heart is full when I look over the island . . . my soul is soothed. . . . This is my haven, my shelter from the sad storms of life. . . . These people are not material for a Caesar or a cotton lord . . . but they are what they are . . . there is no cant among them. . . . I would fill this lovely crater with corn and wine and babies and love . . . and memories of me forever.

Since the Palawai Valley land was for sale he bought it, but in his own name instead of in the name of the Church as intended by the Mormon Elders who originated the plan. “The entire island shall be operated as a great co-operative,” he wrote, “in which all may share alike. . . . I shall develop the resources of the land that the natives may become healthy in body as well as in spirit.”

Organizing the community with himself as “Prophet and Great President,” Gibson followed the pattern of the Utah Mother church by appointing twelve Apostles, several high priests, and a few “priestesses.” The Apostles were

asked to donate \$150 (which some of them did) with lesser amounts required of other officials. The total sum collected was not large, and Gibson referred to it as "church assessments." At a later date he was accused of having "sold church offices to get money for buying land in his own name," but for the present all went smoothly as he set about with enthusiasm to organize his "little kingdom."

Quickly mastering the Hawaiian language, Gibson made a careful study of the history and customs of the race, and in setting up a government for his little valley he followed the pattern of ancient days when chiefs, owning all the land, permitted the commoners to live where they pleased, changing their residences from season to season and contributing a portion of their time and products to the chief upon whose land they lived. Under this cooperative system cows, horses, and sheep belonging to the natives were pastured without charge. Further, all profits made by the Hawaiians were their own. The large whaleboat used for shopping trips to the island of Maui was available to everyone without cost.

In order to restore Hawaiian confidence and racial pride, eroded by many years of foreign domination, Gibson gave a series of lectures on the life of Kamehameha the Great "so as to inspire them with pride in their national history." An extensive health program was inaugurated and he and Talula (he now used the Hawaiian spelling of her name) "traveled around the island carrying a little camphor chest filled with medicines brought from Honolulu," caring for all the natives whether or not they lived in Palawai Valley. So successful was this work that soon he was able to report to Minister Wyllie: "The Hawaiians on Lanai are now nourished on rich, wholesome food and are far healthier than their brothers in Honolulu."

Gibson grew daily more enthused with his work but this simple, pastoral life did not appeal to the shipboard converts Eddy and Cummings and in January, 1862, he noted in his diary: ". . . they are becoming restless. . . . I have lost confidence in them . . . they think only of personal adventures . . . and are done with Hawaii because there is no gold or silver here. . . . They want to strike out for the islands where these things are."

As for himself, Gibson wrote: "I will not desert the seed I have planted here. . . . When I go forth I must bear the fruit . . . the spirit of Lanai. . . . Lines of power, of influence, shall radiate from this shining crater . . . to other lands of the sea. It shall give birth to a better hope for humanity in Polynesia. . . . Oh, smiling Palawai, thou infant hope of my glorious kingdom. . . ."

It was obvious that the dream of a Polynesia united under his leadership was forming in his mind.

Some of the Hawaiians on Lanai questioned Gibson's management of Church affairs as inconsistent with that of the original Mormon Elders, and he noted their opposition in his diary, saying that some had "entered into petty combinations" against him. The majority, however, cooperated enthusiastically and a visitor wrote: "His followers regard him with veneration and awe." The *Polynesian*, a Honolulu newspaper, praised his work, saying he had done more to uplift and inspire the natives in two years than had the missionaries of other sects during their many years in the Islands. This brought angry retort from the *Advertiser* which called Gibson "a dangerous and pernicious character."

Gibson's growing influence was greatly feared by the financial leaders in Honolulu and he was marked as an enemy to be eliminated. A means of bringing this about



was unexpectedly placed in their hands when Eddy and Cummings, bored with the dull life on Lanai, came to Honolulu seeking cash wherewith to continue their adventures. Approached immediately by Gibson's enemies they, for a reportedly large sum of money, began a scurrilous campaign against him.

First, they wrote a letter to American Commissioner Dryer denouncing Gibson roundly and saying he had tricked them into becoming Mormons. Dryer dismissed the letter with the statement that they were no better than the man they accused. Interviews with them were then published in the planter-owned press charging that Gibson was "a scoundrel . . . stealing the natives' lands, and using the Mormon Church as a front for his own ambitions." Copies of these statements were mailed at once to Mormon headquarters in Salt Lake City. Eddy and Cummings, now provided with ample means, departed for parts unknown.

The Mormon Church, much disturbed by the newspaper stories as well as complaints from some Hawaiians on Lanai, sent five officials to Hawaii to investigate. Their decision was that Gibson had "reorganized the Church according to his own ideas, had charged Apostles for their offices, and had placed lands belonging to the Church in his own name." When Gibson refused to turn over to them the lands he had bought, they excommunicated him and, taking as many Hawaiians as wished to leave Lanai, established a new colony at Laie on the island of Oahu.

When the Elders reported to President Brigham Young he endorsed their action, saying: "The charge against Walter M. Gibson was not for owning property or for claiming it, for no one cared how much he had if he only

did good with it; but the charge was his persistent refusal to be dictated to by the priesthood."

Throughout this controversy Prime Minister Wyllie, Prince Lot, and many others stood stanchly by Gibson, pointing out that in acquiring land for himself he had merely followed the precedent set by his accusers who, said Prince Lot, "unlike Gibson, use the lands for themselves while he uses it for the benefit of the natives." An article from the *New York Post* was quoted: "Lands deeded to the Calvinist missionaries [in Hawaii] for church, schools, and mission purposes were diverted to private ownership and formed the basis of many private fortunes."

Gibson's only public comment: "I believe in no creed or sect . . . but it is my opinion that the system of polity practiced by the Mormon Church is the best in the world." When the planter press continued to portray him as a thoroughgoing blackguard, Gibson wrote to Minister Wyllie: "I can afford to be misunderstood, condemned, or despised, for I have a heart and a purpose to abide my time. . . . I care for no creeds but for humanity and love to work for those who are despised and have no friends. . . ."

Regarding his excommunication from the Mormon Church he wrote: "The health of the Hawaiians and the restoration of their national pride are of greater importance than any religious cult. . . . I have great admiration for the Mormon Church; it is founded upon true righteousness and I shall love them always. But for myself, I must go alone, hoping only that in the end it shall be said of me that he was a worker of good among his fellow men regardless of cults or creeds. Above all I wish to be known as a lover of these weak island races who have few friends. . . . These islands with their great mountains and their

pounding seas excite my heart to strange throbbings of love and glory. I could not think meanly near the mighty roar of waters."

Gibson now redoubled his efforts on behalf of the Hawaiians under his care and worked unceasingly to make his lands more productive, recording that often he and Talula worked throughout the night fighting bugs in an effort to save the crops.

My heart is full of the song of the valley, of the hills and the sea, and of my sweet child Talula more than them all. . . . It must be that I have a philosopher's spirit for there are none of the allurements for men here. No gold, no honors, no applause, no creeds . . . but I am sure I hear the voice of God in these hills. . . .

He gave frequent lectures to Hawaiians on health. Urging them to return to their native *poi* and reject foreign foods, he analyzed the herbs used by their forefathers, explaining their qualities. To provide the imaginative touch so loved by Hawaiians he told them of the Greek goddess Hygia and begged that they stop their "worship of Pele of whom you are so fond and turn to the goddess Hygia who cries out to you to save your bodies. . . . Do not be downhearted, and do not believe that you are doomed to extinction. You have become few because your women have been growing sterile. Lead pure, moral lives, cherish the family unit; protect the children born to you and you will become a strong and powerful race again."

His two sons, John and Henry, now with him on Lanai, entered happily into island life, working daily alongside the Hawaiians. But always it was Talula who furnished the "bright gleam" of his life. "If I could meet a woman like

her I would marry at once," he wrote. "She is intelligent, pretty, elastic, companionable. I never spend happier evenings than with her."

On returning from a brief trip to America Gibson met, in Honolulu, an Englishman, Fred Hayselden, who had come to Hawaii by way of Australia, and, liking him, brought him as guest to Lanai where he promptly fell in love with Talula and married her. As manager of the sheep ranch, Hayselden soon developed it into a thriving and profitable industry. With someone to look after Lanai, Gibson now expanded his interests.

A new ruler, King Lunalilo, had come to the throne, and the rumor that he was completely dominated by the sugar planters who were urging him to offer his islands to the United States disturbed Gibson greatly. He decided to go to Honolulu and start a small newspaper to fight such a move. Thus was born *Nuhou*, a semi-weekly English-Hawaiian paper launched February 25, 1873.

After waging a successful crusade against alienation of the national sovereignty, and in promoting the election of King Kalakaua in whom he had great confidence, Gibson prepared to close his newspaper which, carrying no advertising, had been a heavy drain on his finances. On April 28, 1874, in a farewell editorial he wrote:

We close with this number our assigned task. . . . We have fulfilled our contract . . . have been faithful advocates of every measure that we believed would lead to the increase of the Hawaiian nation. . . . We have not fawned for any favor nor feared any man; we have not used our pages to gratify any personal prejudice or rancor. . . . We could have run a carriage as our prudent friends advised, with the means sunk in



our journal, but we chose to run the NUHOU and plod our way on foot. And perhaps it may be that the pages of this journal shall yet speak in our behalf when the chariot and steeds we might have paraded are mouldering in the dust.

Gibson returned to the island of Lanai, but in his mind was a plan for more active participation in public affairs. The pressures being brought to bear upon King Kalakaua by the "kingmakers" were becoming daily more apparent, and certain of their policies appeared to Gibson to be not in the best interests of Hawaiian sovereignty. Believing that destiny beckoned him once again, he prepared to seek a seat in the House of Representatives in the election of 1878.

## CHAPTER 8

### Progress; Optimism of 1878

WALTER MURRAY GIBSON's impelling personality dominated the political campaign of 1878. His ringing speeches fed the rising tide of nationalism. He opposed squarely those who sought control of the Kingdom of Hawaii through ridicule of Hawaiians and the claim that they were incapable of self-government. With methods to be used a century later by psychologists and sociologists, Gibson revived their confidence by citing the great civilization built by their ancestors under which all citizens were healthy, happy, confident, and an economic system under which poverty was unknown.

"Do not be discouraged or downhearted," he said, "you are inheritors of a proud tradition. Yours is the blood of the Great Kamehameha who won the admiration of world leaders. By your own efforts you can restore your race to its former proud position if you have the will to do so."

Urging them to forget past grievances, he counseled: "Do not hate the foreigners. Remember, instead, those among them who guided your kingdom through troubled times in days past, and know that there are those of us today who wish to offer similar service that you may retain your independence. Many of us love you sincerely and wish for your success."

He asked them not to oppose immigration suitable for assimilation, saying, "Your numbers are few today and the introduction of fellow Polynesians and East Indians, whom I believe to be of similar blood, will strengthen your race so that you may continue to rule your homeland. If you remain strong internally, no other country will dare molest you." Repeatedly he begged them to "remember only the days of your strength and success which, with the aid of those of us who love you, can yet be restored. Believe me, we are not your enemies; we want you to survive as a nation."

Gibson's speeches, logical yet deeply emotional, stirred the nation and greatly disturbed those foreigners who had plans for taking over the kingdom. His obvious sincerity and his ability to address Hawaiians in their ancient allegorical form were winning their complete confidence. The "kingmakers" realized that in him they faced their match in shrewdness and determination, plus ability to touch Hawaiian hearts. With all the forces at their command they prepared to stop him.

But they were not able to stop him. Day by day Gibson's

popularity grew apace, and when the votes were counted he had the highest number cast, topping even the nearest Hawaiian candidate. Only four foreigners were elected to the House of Representatives: Gibson, Englishman Robert F. Bickerton, Americans W. R. Castle and W. O. Smith from Maui who was to become Gibson's bitterest antagonist.

The Legislature was called into session April 30, 1878. Gibson, leader of "The King's Party," was from the beginning its dominating figure. And for the first time in many years full and fair reporting was available to the public since the *Advertiser*, now controlled by Henry Sheldon, presented the Hawaiian side while the *Gazette* continued to give that of the "kingmakers."

Gibson's first move was an investigation of all matters pertaining to the health of Hawaiians. He introduced a bill calling for a study of the leprosy problem, urged reorganization of the Board of Health, and asked authorization for publication of a book outlining simple rules of health for Hawaiians. Investigation of the Board of Health was vigorously opposed by two of the foreign representatives.

From the outset the *Gazette* ridiculed Gibson as "a would-be leader, philosopher, philanthropist, and statesman," but the *Advertiser* praised "his deep-seated interest in the Hawaiians and his determination to do something about it," and, commending his attempt to remedy the long-neglected leprosy situation, said: "Hawaii has become a nation of mourners, weeping over her lost and plague-stricken children."

It was on the question of labor that Gibson aroused the planters' hottest ire. Costs of labor imports had always been borne by the Government and the planters now asked for \$50,000 for that purpose. Gibson agreed to the

amount but insisted that the bill should specify the nationality of the laborers. He asked that they be East Indians and Polynesians "not just for the plantations but to recuperate the Hawaiian race." Representative Castle objected to East Indians for fear they would be under the influence of England. Planters opposed Polynesians because "they are not tractable."

To this the *Advertiser* replied that Polynesians were good workers when well treated: "The Hawaiian is as tractable as a child . . . but he cannot be driven in a highhanded manner. . . . Servility is not his natural characteristic. . . . They cannot be driven like machines but are easily managed by kindness—intractable only when unduly pushed."

Gibson objected specifically to the bringing in of males only: "Even the planters must understand the evils arising from isolating men in barracks. . . . Hawaii is developing an unhealthy moral state as a result of this policy."

He praised the plan for bringing in Portuguese families, soon to be tried for the first time, and suggested that white families be brought from America. The planters replied that white Americans would not work for twelve dollars a month "and we cannot pay more." This prompted a letter to the *Advertiser*:

Responsible citizens feel a growing anxiety over this attitude of the planters. . . . It requires no prophet to predict what is going to happen to these islands from this steady Mongolian inundation. . . . Any thoughtful person can see the state the nation is getting itself into.

In the midst of this debate another 500 oriental males arrived and the *Advertiser* warned: "There are certain physical laws to ignore which must inevitably bring a train



of untold evils and disasters. The perils before us will certainly overwhelm us if they are neglected."

One evil accompanying importation of oriental labor was smuggling of opium. A bill to license its sale was introduced but was opposed by Gibson, who felt that other means of stopping it had not yet been exhausted. Passed over his opposition, the bill was vetoed by King Kalakaua, yet all thinking citizens realized that the problem would have to be faced and solved eventually.

Gibson now introduced a bill providing \$50,000 for building a new palace "that royalty may be maintained creditably." He asked also for \$45,000 yearly allowance for the royal household: "The dignity of the throne should be upheld by appropriate surroundings." His next move was to ask erection of a statue of Kamehameha the Great "that Hawaiians may be reminded of their proud lineage and their worthy place in history."

All these appropriations were bitterly fought by the other foreign legislators and the *Gazette*, which loudly denounced Gibson's extravagance for "wanting to expend thousands of dollars for a bronze statue of one of the early kings." This slighting comment on their greatest hero enraged Hawaiians and brought from Gibson the retort, "There are some who mock at every sentiment and every hope that is not productive of dollars."

Kamehameha, he said, "Met destiny like a patriot . . . and welcomed a new era with the spirit of an enlightened statesman. . . . So let us commemorate our great hero even as other countries do. . . . Such money well spent, will come back to us a hundredfold in honor from others."

Hawaiian members of the Legislature voted for all appropriations asked by Gibson while the planters cried in rage that it was *their* money being spent so freely, to which

Hawaiians replied that the wealth of which they boasted had been made possible only because of America's liking for King Kalakaua. "The United States refused to give you a reciprocity treaty although you had tried to get it for twenty years," reminded Representative Aholo of Maui; "now we Hawaiians should be permitted to enjoy a small portion of the great wealth our king has brought you and we will do so by honoring our *ali'i*."

The Treaty, in existence for only two years, was bringing wealth to the planters but trouble with Great Britain because of its special favors to the United States. Gibson suggested that similar concessions be made to England: "The matter of first importance to us is that the kingdom perpetuate its cordial relations with all other nations so as to guard its independence." Wherefore the king sent the Hon. H. A. P. Carter to London to adjust the differences.

At this time the United States Minister to Hawaii was a former United States Army officer, General J. M. Comly, an aggressive "manifest destiny" man who was in complete agreement with those Americans who desired to annex the Islands. On intimate terms with the planters he, at their request, reported to Washington that Gibson was a troublemaker and a dangerous man with great influence over the natives. "He is from the South and is obviously a Secessionist who will bear watching."

Another matter now came before the Legislature which aroused the Hawaiians greatly. The Queen's Hospital, in operation for twenty years, had been built by Kamehameha IV and his consort Queen Emma "to provide free medical care for indigent Hawaiians," its charter specifying that when room was available other races might enter as pay patients. It was supported in part by government appropria-

tions. During the reign of King Lunalilo a sly attempt had been made to change the charter to eliminate free care of Hawaiians, but this had been defeated by Dr. Robert McKibben, the physician in charge. Representative W. O. Smith now introduced a bill providing that the appropriation be contingent upon the hospital's being placed in charge of a board of three instead of Dr. McKibben alone. This move was followed by a letter from Samuel Damon urging that the charter be changed so as to open the hospital to foreigners on an equal basis with Hawaiians.

"I know very well," he wrote, "that the hospital was originally designed for the benefit of the native population but . . . they are diminishing and the foreign element is on the increase . . . the constitution demands a change."

He added that he knew "specious objections will be made."

Gibson immediately took up the challenge and in biting words denounced "that special group of foreigners who fight every move to strengthen the native race." He pointed out that since the death of her husband Queen Emma had devoted her entire life to the hospital and her resources to its upkeep. "We cannot do otherwise than follow the wishes of its august founders and continue to appropriate money as has been done from the beginning."

The *Advertiser* agreed that it "should remain for all time as a monument to Kamehameha IV and Queen Emma . . . reaching nearer to heaven than the costliest piles erected by the mightiest kings. . . . We rejoice that the noble Queen has been permitted to watch its growth and usefulness. . . . May every life saved be as flowers strewn . . . upon her pathway."

In his diary Gibson wrote: "I fear the eventual loss to

Hawaiians of the great fortunes left by the royal family for their benefit. I am disturbed by the actions of the trustees of the Lunalilo estate, left by the late king for care of the aged people. I fear that in time the fortune will pass wholly into their hands, leaving the old Hawaiians destitute. . . . Queen Emma proposes to leave her vast estate for support of the hospital, but her lands may someday promise such value that they will be the envied goal of those who now desire to possess the crown lands. Fear for the future of these trusting people hangs heavy on my heart."

Gibson now intensified the opposition's anger by investigating the king's Cabinet. After months of careful research he announced that an unauthorized sum of \$250,000 had been withdrawn from the Government Treasury "and placed to the credit of a special account with Attorney General Hartwell in the bank of Bishop & Co." He charged that no entries for these disbursements had been made and asked for a complete investigation. Stunned by this bold attack, the "kingmakers," after tossing angry accusations back and forth, finally admitted that the money had been transferred to the bank to ease it over a crisis.

There had been no actual loss to the Government, but the fact that the transaction was made secretly and illegally aroused public distrust.

Gibson then introduced a resolution declaring lack of confidence in the Ministry and when denounced by the foreign financial leaders retained his customary detached, impersonal manner (always so exasperating to his opponents), his only reply being, "They are most ungentlemanly."

Just before the Legislature adjourned, the king received a petition from Gilbertese chiefs asking that the Hawaiian



Kingdom annex their islands or place them under a protectorate to insure safety from European aggression. The petition was discussed, but postponed as involving too many difficulties at the moment. The plea was to remain in His Majesty's mind, however, as a possible future project and the *Advertiser* prophesied: "A Confederation of Polynesia may well someday come to pass."

Following adjournment of the Legislature in August there was much public discussion of its activities. Those friendly to Hawaiians were loud in praise of Gibson. Said the *Advertiser*: "None is more worthy of prominent mention . . . he labored indefatigably for the interests . . . of the country at large . . . clearly unselfish zeal characterized his conduct throughout the arduous session." The *Gazette*, protesting this "puffing up of Gibson," called the *Advertiser* "a sneaking, drivelling coward."

Although Gibson's resolution asking for a vote of lack of confidence in the king's Ministry had failed to pass, it served the purpose of shaking public confidence in its integrity so when, in a surprise move, the king asked for their resignations shortly after adjournment of the Legislature his action did not bring an outburst of indignation from the *Gazette* as might have been expected.

The king then appointed a new Cabinet composed of two Hawaiians and two foreigners with John Kapena as Prime Minister, Simon Kaai Minister of Finance, Samuel G. Wilder Minister of Interior, and Edward Preston Attorney General. While this action came as a shock to His Majesty's foreign backers who had assumed he would make no move without consulting them, they admitted that the new appointees were all good men and the *Gazette* hoped they would prove capable.

To the Privy Council the king then appointed two able

Englishmen known for their Hawaiian sympathies: James I. Dowsett and John S. Walker. And again, while acknowledging that they were men of integrity, the "kingmakers" muttered dourly, "But they don't belong to Our Crowd."

Gibson now departed for Boston with authorization for the statue of Kamehameha I, for which he had drawn the model, where he planned to commission the noted sculptor Thomas R. Gould. Reporting to the *Advertiser* en route, he told of hearing constant praise of King Kalakaua, warmly remembered by the American people. He wrote also of meeting Edison, the inventor. "What wonders this beardless youth is producing! I spoke over his phonograph in Hawaiian and marveled as the words poured back to me."

After conferring with Gould in Boston and making final arrangements for the statue, to be made in Italy, he wrote: "And now I am going South to meet friends I knew when my locks were browner and my step lighter."

Meantime, prosperity and optimism grew apace in the Hawaiian Kingdom. Sugar flowing into the great American market duty free was returning wealth to be shared by all. The planters were growing rich beyond their fondest dreams and the Hawaiians, aglow with pride in their king's successes, were filled with happiness. Importation of Portuguese families had proven successful and the planters were bringing in more of them. A shipment of fine, healthy Polynesians arrived from the South Seas.

The government was running smoothly, but the "kingmakers" noted with uneasiness that the king, with quiet determination, continued to shift control whenever possible into the hands of his own people or to foreigners known to be loyal to them. Within the past fifty years a great many Europeans, mostly British, had settled in the Islands after marrying Hawaiian girls. They and their descendants were

now listed among leading citizens and it was to them that His Majesty turned to fill many important government posts.

In recent years there had been intermarriages also between Hawaiians and Chinese, the native girls finding them "good providers" and congenial husbands with similar household mores. Industry, thrift, and keen mentality, also the position of their Hawaiian wives in the community, made many of these Chinese wealthy. Said one observer: "A Chinese can leave the plantation with a bunch of bananas and by the end of the year own \$5,000 worth of stocks!"

Children of these Hawaiian-Chinese unions seemed for the most part to be blessed with the best qualities of both races. Retaining the charm and beauty of their mothers, they inherited the keen intellect of their fathers, often producing girls of rare beauty and boys of excellent business ability. An outstanding example was that of Afong Chun and his Hawaiian wife. Arriving in 1852 as a laborer, Afong was now the proud possessor not only of great wealth but of four fine sons and twelve daughters of striking beauty.

Now Afong was made a member of His Majesty's Privy Council and so nearly unanimous was the community's approval that not even the "kingmakers" protested. He was the first Chinese to be so honored.

King Kalakaua's popularity had increased steadily with all factions and no small part of the love bestowed upon the royal family by Hawaiians was inspired by Queen Consort Kapiolani. Modest and speaking no English, she was shy in the presence of strangers but with her own people warmly demonstrative. Deeply interested in their welfare, she visited all parts of the kingdom informally, with only one companion, that she might talk with the people and learn their

needs. From Maui a correspondent reported: "She goes about like a ministering angel visiting the unfortunate and dispensing charity with a kindly hand. . . . She travels with no display; quietly, sincerely, she goes among the people . . . and their love for her knows no bounds."

Glorying in the restored prestige of their *ali'i*, the Hawaiians staged great celebrations of their birthdays during 1879 beginning with that of Queen Emma on January 2, when the king sent the Royal Hawaiian Band to serenade her at dawn. All day long the people made pilgrimages to her Nuuanu Valley home bearing gifts. From England's Queen Victoria came "a steel-engraved likeness of the Royal Family of Great Britain in the most beautiful workmanship."

Next celebration was the fifth anniversary of His Majesty's accession, on February 12. Observed with universal rejoicing, there were parades, regatta races, a reception at Iolani Palace, and much praise from the newspapers which declared that "rarely has a monarch been so greatly admired and loved by all."

In April the king appointed his sister Princess Likelike governor of the island of Hawaii to succeed the ailing Princess Ruth, and the inaugural ceremonies were marked with such splendor as to cause some of the foreign financial leaders to "doubt the wisdom of permitting him to create such a powerful native leadership."

All members of the royal family went to Kona for the ceremony. Met with flaming torches, brilliantly colored feather *kahilis*, and much chanting, they were accompanied "by a great concourse of people" to a flower-decorated platform before which an elaborate pageant, enacted in the ancient manner, depicted the past glories of their race. At the inaugural ceremony the lovely Likelike, wearing a light



blue satin gown trimmed with ostrich feathers, in addressing the people referred to the island of Hawaii as "the cradle of our chiefs at whose breasts the kings and noble families of this nation have been nourished. . . . May the Almighty God bless and keep you always."

The birthday of Her Royal Highness Princess Liliuokalani, King Kalakaua's other sister, and that of their niece, four-year-old Princess Kaiulani, were observed with great festivities, but the major celebration of the year was that for His Majesty on November 16. Under his sponsorship there had been a revival of sports, banned for half a century by the missionaries. Surfing was restored to its former honored position as "the sport of kings"; there were canoe races, horse races, and native games of all types. The king's establishment of Regatta Day as an annual event brought to the Islands yearly the finest sportsmen of other lands to join local yachtsmen in sailing the jade-green waters off Waikiki.

A great banquet at the palace closed the day's celebration and the newspapers united in declaring that the king was full worthy of the adulation heaped upon him. "May he be spared for many years to come to bless his people with his judicious presence as Ruler and King," said the *Gazette*.

Such was the peaceful picture when, as the year drew to a close, there arrived in Hawaii a man who, within a short time, was to set off an explosion to rock the serenity of the kingdom. He was an Italian with a personality as dramatic as his name, Celso Caesar Moreno. Arriving on the Chinese vessel *Hochung* as special agent for the Chinese Merchants Navigation Company, he invited the king and Governor Dominis aboard to meet Fan Jau Ki, wealthy Chinese industrialist, who was planning to start a line of ships between Canton and Hawaii. In typical mandarin style Fan bestowed gifts with lavish hand.

During the previous year Señor Moreno had been authorized by the United States Government to "promote telegraphic communication between America and Asia," and his efforts toward that end had been acclaimed by the Honolulu press which now welcomed him warmly with praise for his "energy and intelligence." The *Advertiser* called him the most important visitor of 1879 and the *Gazette* expressed hope that His Majesty would welcome him cordially, adding that the editor was proud of having published Señor Moreno's statement of his plans in full: "We hope that the Government will avail itself of this golden opportunity." The "kingmakers" added their words of praise for this most distinguished visitor.

On December 31, birthday of the Queen Consort, the happy year of 1879 closed with ceremonial laying of the cornerstone for a new Iolani Palace. There was Masonic ritual (the king being a 33rd Degree Mason) before a large group of officials, and a poetic speech by Prime Minister Kapena who, reminding that the ground on which the palace would stand had long been sacred to Hawaiians, cried:

"May it house Hawaiian *ali'i* to the end of time!"

## CHAPTER 9

### Chinese Enter Hawaiian Politics

SEÑOR CELSO CAESAR MORENO quickly became the toast of Honolulu. Welcomed by the foreigners who hoped for success of his proposed Pacific cable, he was equally popular with Hawaiians enchanted by his suave Latin manner. The king required no urging from the *Gazette* to "treat him cor-

dially" for from the moment they met, each was delighted with the other. Thereafter Señor Moreno was an honored guest at all palace functions.

Of medium height, slender, Moreno had large, expressive brown eyes and long, slim hands which he used eloquently to enhance his ingratiating personality. He had a gay Gallic wit; his mind was adroit, his spirit fearless. A visiting newsman from New York described him as "a man of more than ordinary ability and a talent for affairs . . . the soldier-of-fortune type which seems to drift to the Pacific."

Opening of the Legislature on May 1, 1880, was colorful. King Kalakaua, in military uniform, arrived by open barouche with a mounted escort of The King's Own, followed by three flower-bedecked carriages bearing ladies of the court "costumed in gorgeous toilettes." In the first carriage, with Her Royal Highness Princess Liliuokalani, sat Señor Moreno.

The large Legislative Hall of Ali'iolani Hale was packed with local officials, foreign diplomats, and distinguished visitors. As His Majesty and picturesque entourage walked down the aisle to their places on the dais, a murmur of admiration rippled through the room. Standing before the golden feather cloak of Kamehameha, the king formally opened the Legislature.

From the preceding fiercely fought political campaign Walter Murray Gibson had again emerged as leader of the legislative ticket, the only foreigner from the previous session to be re-elected. The *Advertiser* interpreted this as an endorsement of his work in the previous term but the *Gazette* jeered "The Rising Star" and urged formation of a political party of "men of intelligence and property" to bring about his defeat. Conceding his "intellect and elegant culture," the *Gazette* said "He wants only personal power."

As the most-discussed man in the Islands, Gibson was the focal point of attention for visitors one of whom, David Adee, after watching him in action on the floor of the House, wrote of his "courtierlike manners . . . his mild but cold blue eyes reminiscent of the Duke of Wellington," and, admiring the manner in which "he sustains himself with adroitness, audacity, and by his good mother wit," decided "he is as wise as a serpent but not as harmless as a dove." All were agreed that Gibson's influence was responsible for the increased self-confidence of the Hawaiians.

As the Legislature progressed, members of the foreign colony became aware of another growing influence in public affairs—that of the Chinese. Recently "Mr. Chun Afong, Esquire," as he now signed himself, had been appointed "Commercial Agent of the Chinese Empire in the Hawaiian Kingdom." As such, he had diplomatic standing and the opening of his official headquarters was extravagantly ceremonious. The king and high officials attended; the Royal Hawaiian Band serenaded; elaborate refreshments were served; and when the flag of the Chinese Empire was unfurled, exclamations of delight rose from the spectators at "the stunning-looking emblem, yellow and blue edges, and in the center the blue dragon with nine claws."

Thereafter the "kingmakers" noted with growing alarm that the legislative halls were filled daily with suave, well-dressed Chinese lobbyists who brought gifts to the members and gave nightly banquets at which the health of His Majesty was toasted frequently in persuasive *sam-shu*. They were even more alarmed to note the eagerness with which these diplomatic overtures were accepted by Hawaiians, delighted with this unexpected support of their national cause. As the two races merged into a political unit a Maui planter observed dryly: "The Hawaiians and Chinese are getting



along well—a little too well.” Results of the merger were soon evident.

For many years past the Hawaiian Government had paid a \$12,000 yearly subsidy to the Pacific Mail Shipping Company of San Francisco, stock in which was held by some of the local sugar planters. This year, when a subsidy bill was introduced, the Hawaiian members objected and the *Advertiser*, agreeing, said: “It is folly for us to continue this subsidy when it pays them to come here. . . . They would come if we paid them nothing . . . the money is needed here at home.”

A memorial was submitted to the Legislature by Señor Moreno asking for an annual subsidy of \$18,000 for the China Merchants Steamship Company; this was followed by introduction of a bill authorizing the borrowing of \$10,000,000, a loan which, so it was rumored, would be available from China. The battle now waxed exceedingly acrimonious as Chinese and planter lobbyists fought one another bitterly behind the scenes.

Gibson supported both the Chinese Steamship subsidy and the loan bills, saying that objections to them came from those who held the whip of a powerful financial monopoly over the lives of all Island residents: “The people of these islands would be better off if this smothering octopus of monopoly was destroyed,” he said.

Both bills were opposed by the *Advertiser*, however: “China is not lending money without some ulterior motive. . . . Their wirepulling is always of a peculiar nature and one that will not bear strict investigation.” The bills were defeated when Hawaiians became convinced that their passage might jeopardize the independence of the kingdom.

The Pacific Mail subsidy bill was passed, with Gibson’s support, after assurance from Minister Wilder that it could

be transferred to any other steamship company offering better service to the Islands. Meanwhile, San Francisco newspapers watching, amazed, concluded: "The Chinese have really captured the Hawaiian Kingdom."

Although the planters had succeeded in stopping the Chinese-sponsored bills, they faced discomforting evidence that their control was weakening. The labor problem added to their difficulties. The Portuguese had proven satisfactory but they refused to stay on the plantations, preferring to work for themselves as small farmers. The South Sea Islanders, welcomed by the Hawaiians who took them to their hearts and clamored to adopt their babies, objected to the long hours and hard labor on the plantations. In an effort to keep them contented the planters appointed the Rev. Hiram Bingham (son of the first missionary of that name) as "Agent for the protection of South Sea immigrants."

Bingham composed lengthy instructions urging them to accept the situation as they found it: "Do not complain about eating rice . . . do not provoke your overseers by tardiness . . . for it is better to put up with rough usage than to find yourself a convict in prison with no pay and with the prospect of working out your lost time at the end of your contract." But these suggestions for self-abasement failed to make plantation life acceptable to the southern Polynesians who, like their Hawaiian cousins, refused to submit to compulsory daily drudgery. The planters decided against bringing in any more Polynesians.

Gibson, Godfrey Rhodes, and merchant John T. Waterhouse urged the importation of Hindus, but the planters were adamant, saying, ". . . among them are many keen and wily minds. . . . We should be wary of them."

Japanese imported in 1868 had proven unsatisfactory because of their constant complaints to their home govern-

ment; some of the planters now suggested trying them again, while others flatly objected: "It will lead to trouble with Japan." There were now 12,000 Chinese in the Islands, rapidly being augmented by Chinese-Hawaiian children who were smart, industrious, and not so easily controlled as the pure-blood Hawaiians. The Chinese, complained the planters, were not only open partisans of the Hawaiians but were forming trade-unions: "They will support their countrymen who are out of work rather than let them work at reduced rates. . . . They are masters of the situation and they know it." But since there seemed no alternative, the planters continued to import them.

Two more legislative bills were to arouse hot controversy, one to license sale of opium, the other to permit sale of liquor to Hawaiians. At the previous session Gibson had opposed both bills, but this time he gave his support, saying that opium and liquor were being sold on the sly to Hawaiians in a manner far more dangerous to their welfare than if the traffic was government controlled. "Those who make the loudest outcries are the ones who are making money out of them at present. Their interest is in seeing that they, not the Government, get the money."

His charge that liquor and opium were being shipped to the outer islands with knowledge and consent of the Inter-Island Steamship Company was backed by a Hawaiian who wrote: "The owner is perfectly aware of this . . . had he the welfare of the native at heart what is to prevent him from informing the Attorney General about the smuggling? . . . Such immense quantities of opium could not come into this country without the connivance of officials in high authority." Both bills passed the Legislature but were vetoed by the king.

Gibson now introduced several bills which brought a

storm of protest from the "kingmakers." One to raise the king's yearly allowance from \$45,000 to \$60,000 was passed quickly. He then asked for a \$10,000 appropriation for a formal coronation of Their Majesties upon opening of the new palace. To the Hawaiians he said: "The coronation will assert the honor and dignity of the throne and will raise up your nation before the eyes of the world. . . . It will rebuke those who hope for the decline of the nation and final surrender of its autonomy."

The bills were passed, and the *Gazette* cried angrily: "The best citizens will not stand for this humoring native follies and suggesting to the native mind visions of aggrandisement." Retorted a Hawaiian newspaper: "Patriotic people will not agree with the ravings of a few whose agitation only exposes their greed and their impotence."

Two more bills introduced by Gibson aroused further furor. One was for \$15,000 for the education of Hawaiian youths abroad that they might be better prepared to serve their country. "Sheer folly," screamed the *Gazette*. The other bill asked for \$3,000 to establish "A genealogical society for the purpose of preserving the genealogies recorded in ancient chants." When the planters objected, Gibson offered recently published articles from the *New York Sun* and the *San Francisco Journal of Commerce*, saying that the Hawaiian sugar planters had become millionaires almost overnight: "They have reaped golden harvests since passage of the Reciprocity Treaty."

Assuming the mild, courteous manner with which he always met their attacks, Gibson said he was sure they would want their kingdom well represented to the world. Then he added—again mildly—that perhaps the Hawaiians had a right to enjoy a little of the money made possible to the planters solely through the efforts of their king.



By this time the planters had learned that Gibson was never so dangerous as when he was seemingly conciliatory. They steeled themselves for the next blow—but not sufficiently for the surprise he sprung. Beginning with the statement that Marcey, a great American, had denounced interlocking groups in public office organized “for the purpose of public plunder,” Gibson said that such a one existed in Honolulu. He presented documents to show that a member of the Cabinet had authorized purchase of a dilapidated interisland steamer, the *Pomare*, at \$10,000 plus a like sum for repairs, the total to go into the pockets of a small group of government officials. The ship, he said, was still unusable.

This disclosure shocked the community immeasurably and before the “kingmakers” could formulate an apt reply the king made a swift move which left them gasping with astonishment. The Legislature was prorogued at noon, August 14. One hour later His Majesty dismissed his Cabinet and appointed a new one with Señor Moreno at its head as Minister of Foreign Affairs. Completing the Cabinet were Anglo-Hawaiians John E. Bush and M. K. Kuaea, also W. C. Jones, a former senator in his home state of Nebraska, who had lived in the Islands for many years and was devoted to the Hawaiians.

The king’s surprise move shocked not only the “kingmakers” but the entire community. Business disapproved and so did the foreign diplomats, who announced that their governments would not deal with Moreno. Gibson voiced his disapproval privately to friends and the *Advertiser* did so publicly. The Hawaiians, deeply enamored of Moreno whose Latin flair and wit delighted their souls, approved wholeheartedly.

Businessmen immediately called an indignation meeting in Kaumakapili Church; foreigners and Hawaiians were

tensely attentive as the chairman offered a resolution condemning the king's action. "Traitorous!" shouted John Kapena, and moved to table the resolution. Other Hawaiians tried to second his motion but were shouted down by the foreigners. The only native in support was a discredited part-Hawaiian named Pilipo, called *Kapakahi* (crooked) by Hawaiians who resented his acting as mouthpiece for the "kingmakers'" attacks on the throne. Ignoring all Hawaiian attempts to defend the king, the resolution was declared passed by the chairman.

Hawaiians then held their own meeting where they loudly applauded a speech by Anglo-Hawaiian Robert Wilcox, who quoted Moreno as calling the *Mahele* "The Feast of the Passover—when the lands of the Hawaiians passed over to the foreigners." He urged the people to "sustain our Italian friend and savior." Moreno himself, appearing at the close of the meeting, was given a rousing ovation.

Next day posters appeared in all parts of the city headed: "Way Up Celso Moreno!" Addressed to "All true-born citizens of the country," the proclamation asked that Moreno be supported. "His intention is to cast down the foreigners and put in their places the true Hawaiians. . . . Celso Caesar Moreno is the heart from which will issue life to the real Hawaiians."

While many of the foreigners understood Hawaiian hunger for leadership by one who promised to fight in their defense, few approved placing the emotional and dramatic Moreno in a position of power. So after five days of turmoil and confusion the king yielded to public opinion and dismissed Moreno from the Cabinet. However, he then made the elegant, stormy petrel Ambassador Extraordinary and placed in his charge three Anglo-Hawaiian boys to be educated abroad. As Moreno departed with young Robert Wil-

cox, Robert Boyd, and James K. Booth, to be placed in school in Europe, his parting shot at his enemies was: "Behold my persecution by those who piously roll their eyes to heaven and pray—and *prey!*"

Meanwhile the "kingmakers," following up their victory, demanded an all-foreign Cabinet of their choosing. As Minister of Foreign Affairs they offered a highly respected Englishman, William Lowthian Green, and urged that the British custom of allowing the Prime Minister to appoint the rest of the Cabinet be followed.

The king surrendered and the all-foreign Cabinet was composed of Green, H. A. P. Carter, W. N. Armstrong, and John S. Walker. On the following day the king appointed four new members to the Privy Council: Gibson and three Hawaiians—and the "kingmakers" realized that all victories over him were Pyrrhic victories. Yielding to their demands at one point he adroitly checkmated them by his next move, leaving them writhing in frustration. They had not credited him with so much acumen.

Another point made clear during this battle for power was that the "kingmakers" did not have the backing of the whole foreign colony some of whom now, for the first time, spoke out openly against them. Wrote an Englishman: "They want to rule this country and have the king for their puppet . . . always threatening to pull a revolution. Just let them try it! Let them go in for a little treason! . . . Neither America nor England would stand for such high-handed tactics from the moneyed crowd."

This was followed by a charge from Godfrey Rhodes: "They are always ready to sacrifice the interest of the many for the schemes of the few. . . . As a member of the Privy Council of three successive kings and of the House of Nobles for the past six years . . . I suggest that King Kalakaua

make an autographic appeal to the heads of the Great Powers . . . for the protection of this country. . . .”

This rising tide of local opposition moved the “king-makers” to launch a campaign to enlist the sympathy of America on their side. Hence stories were planted in newspapers in important cities depicting the king as “anti-American.” Since California was critical of the importation of Chinese, stories were placed there blaming the king; other stories said he had “gained the throne through trickery”—implying his own! At home the *Gazette* spoke disparagingly of King Kalakaua’s “hereditary claims to the throne . . . very obscure.” Queen Emma, they now declared, was the only true *ali’i*. They urged all foreigners to “stop effusive protestations of loyalty to the king. . . . They have overdone the act of praising him.”

Meanwhile, Señor Moreno and his Hawaiian youths had arrived in Washington where they were being widely entertained, the irrepressible Italian delighting newsmen with his spicy comments on “the land-grabbing set which controls Hawaii and is devoted mainly to politics and filthy lucre.”

Shortly before the close of the year it was announced that the *Advertiser* had been sold to “The Pacific Commercial Advertiser Company,” its business manager to be Fred Hayselden, Gibson’s son-in-law. The *Gazette*, investigating the sale, found that one third of the \$15,000 paid for it had been advanced by the Government, which pledged government printing in return for “support of His Majesty’s Government.” As the *Gazette* suspected, Walter Murray Gibson was to be editor.

Gibson’s opening editorial declared “The country—the whole country—is our cause; its people, its society; its health . . . these will we serve with a faithful pen. . . . We will



seek to avoid strife . . . but our spirit will not be backward to defend . . . our friends . . . or [to condemn] any disloyalty to the Hawaiian throne. We are loyal to the king, devoted to the welfare of the people, and aim to make this journal an instrument for the advancement and blessing of the Hawaiian nation."

Subsequent editorials stated his faith in "the great heart of America and her good will toward Hawaii . . . she will always be honorable in her dealings with the kingdom."

He asked for volunteer workers for the Board of Health: "There is a wail of dying natives which should be answered by people who claim to be of God." He published a letter from General Noyes, American Minister to France, telling of the praise given the statue of Kamehameha, exhibited in Paris before being shipped to Hawaii: "French statesmen . . . have conceived a new interest in the little nation which commemorates its progress by a noble work of art." Next, he republished some of the anti-Hawaiian propaganda being placed in American newspapers by the "kingmakers" and begged that they "not disparage the Hawaiians who in the days of their kindly strength fostered those who should now reciprocate with special consideration."

When this editorial appeared, the big business firms canceled all their advertising in the *Advertiser* but the loss was more than replaced by increased circulation as the people discovered an outlet for their thoughts through letters to the editor. One, commenting on the changed attitude of the planters toward the king, said "They were mistaken in their estimate of his character . . . they thought him a weakling but when he asserts himself . . . they howl with rage."

King Kalakaua now announced that he was planning to take a trip around the world "that I may learn the ways of other rulers so as to best protect my own people."

## CHAPTER 10

King Kalakaua Makes a Trip  
Around the World

KING KALAKAUA's proposed trip around the world was strongly opposed by the "kingmakers" who feared it would redound to his personal aggrandizement. Finding it impossible to dissuade him, they insisted that all expenses be paid out of his private income. This would forbid a retinue and force him to travel incognito since an entourage suitable for a ruling sovereign would cost more than he could afford.

With no alternative, the king agreed, and the *Advertiser* prophesied that in whatever capacity he traveled he would be honored because of his inherent qualities: "His Majesty is royal by instinct . . . has the style and manner of a cultivated gentleman. . . ."

To accompany him, the king chose two close friends, a Hawaiian, the Hon. John Kapena, and a Briton, George W. Macfarland. He planned also to take Ropert, his valet, the German Baron von Oehlhoffen whose weakness for drink had reduced him to the status of ship's cook when the king took him into his household. An aristocrat of fine education and fluent in many languages, Ropert's knowledge of European etiquette had proved valuable at court.

Again the "kingmakers" intervened, demanding that His Majesty's traveling companions be two from their own

group, Charles H. Judd, Court Chamberlain, and William Armstrong for whom they created the title of "Commissioner of Immigration." Reluctantly the king agreed but when they insisted that he appoint a "Council of Regency" to rule in his absence instead of his sister, Heir Apparent Princess Liliuokalani, he stood his ground and made her sole regent despite the *Gazette's* insistence that "The Princess being a lady would not want such responsibilities."

Prior to departure the king made a brief trip around the Islands to bid his people *aloha* and to explain the purpose of his journey. At Ho'okena, on the island of Hawaii, an ancient temple to Pele was restored for his visit and an aged priest made an offering to the fire goddess for protection of His Majesty, while the people there assembled pledged "Here, O King, we shall pray daily for your safe return." Similar ceremonies to the ancient gods were held on Maui and Molokai, and on Kauai "His Majesty was taken to the Wailua River where he bathed himself in the sacred waters of *Kukui-laua-hina-hina*."

At a gathering of his people on Oahu the king told them that he was going forth to recruit *not slaves* but *citizens* for the kingdom "so that we may become strong, secure, a nation of proud, independent people—not a nation of a few millionaires and many slaves." Thereafter each night, until his departure, the palace grounds were filled with Hawaiians "making the nights vocal with tender songs of farewell."

The royal party was to sail on the *SS City of Sidney*, departing at sunset January 20, 1881. Before noon the Hawaiians had begun to assemble at the wharf and by the time the king arrived thousands crowded the water front. His Majesty went aboard over a pathway of flowers and when he appeared on deck, "The people stretched out their hands as if to send forth . . . the love in their hearts. And as

the steamer moved grandly out to sea they chanted prayers for his safe return."

As the *Advertiser* had prophesied, traveling incognito did not lessen the homage paid Hawaii's sovereign. Reported a passenger: "His Majesty won golden opinions from all his fellow travelers, old and young, learned and frivolous. Two learned scientists aboard found his depth of knowledge astounding." San Francisco, ignoring the fact that he was supposed to be incognito, gave him a royal welcome. Said one newspaper: "Although he comes not as a king but incognito with few attendants and by no means a heavy purse . . . his intelligence and his amiable character will overbalance all. . . . His popularity is deep-rooted."

Public officials and private citizens alike sought to entertain him. On a visit to the Legislative Assembly in Sacramento he was greeted with acclaim, the president of the Senate predicting that someday His Majesty would rule over all of Oceania and be known to posterity as the "Colossus of the Pacific."

On his return to San Francisco, banquets and balls crowded close upon one another as he was entertained by public officials and private citizens among whom was his intimate friend Claus Spreckels, German-born financier who had extensive investments in the Hawaiian Islands. The most spectacular party was the "Mandarin feast" tendered by the Chinese Consul General. Tables were covered with gold-embroidered crimson satin; walls hung with ancient scrolls; and upon the pillars of the great banquet hall were draped the American, Hawaiian, and Chinese flags. Toasts to His Majesty were frequent and eloquent.

Throughout the king's visit newsmen noted, with sly comment, that while His Majesty appeared at all functions in simple evening dress his aides Colonel Judd and Mr.



Armstrong "wore elaborate military uniforms with much gilt braid and deep red sashes." As an officer on the king's staff Colonel Judd was entitled to wear a uniform but Honolulu rocked with laughter over stories of Mr. Armstrong's insistence that he have one also—which he bought at the cost to the kingdom of \$700. Asked the *Advertiser*: "What occasion can there be for display of lace, bullion, or cocked hat on the part of a staff accompanying a personage traveling incognito?"

Nor was this the last of such performances by the ambitious Mr. Armstrong who, in later years, authored the book *Around the World with a King* in which he ridiculed King Kalakaua and portrayed himself as the hero of the tour.

The royal party arrived in Japan on the morning of March 4 to resounding salutes from British, French, Russian, and Japanese warships in Yokohama Harbor; crowds ashore waved small Hawaiian and Japanese flags. Admiral Nakamura, with Foreign Minister Inouye came aboard bearing greetings from Emperor Mutsuhito and a request that King Kalakaua be his guest. At the Imperial Summer Palace, Nohe Yama, overlooking the city of Yokohama, the Hawaiian monarch was welcomed in a formal ceremony then escorted to a tapestry-decorated suite. His aides were established in separate apartments and even valet Ropert was given a private suite and a staff of servants.

Next day, escorted by four royal princes, assigned to attend His Hawaiian Majesty at all times, the party was taken to the Imperial Palace in Tokyo for formal presentation to the emperor. Abandoning the customary procedure of walking alone ahead of his guests, the emperor asked King Kalakaua to walk by his side to the Room of Audience where the empress awaited them. She, remaining seated,

acknowledged the presentation with a bow and the king was pleased to note that, unlike the rest of the court, she was dressed in native style which he thought more becoming than the European gowns of her ladies in waiting. Formalities over, the Hawaiian group returned to the Yokohama Palace.

To show the peoples of other lands an example of his native culture, King Kalakaua had brought with him one of the gorgeous feather cloaks worn by his ancestors, placing it in care of Ropert who promptly assumed the title "Keeper of the Royal Feather Cloak." Now, on return from their call on the emperor, the royal party found Ropert, aglow with *sake* provided by his servants, robed in the feather cloak and seated upon a satin pillow, surrounded by geisha girls and bowing servants. He was having a hilarious time.

His royal employer found the situation highly amusing but his aides, lacking the king's tolerance of Ropert's vagaries, demanded that he be punished. They reported the incident to Honolulu as if it were a matter of international import. Ropert later took sweet revenge upon Mr. Armstrong, whom he considered a mere commoner, by circulating among his aristocratic European friends information that "the Honorable Commissioner is really the king's barber," so reported by several European newspapers.

Emperor Mutsuhito returned King Kalakaua's call on the following day and thereafter receptions, theater parties, and banquets filled the hours in a pattern of elaborate entertainment climaxed with a state banquet at the Imperial Palace during which the emperor presented his royal guest with the Star and Scarlet Cordon of the Rising Sun. In return, King Kalakaua invested his host with the Grand

Cross of the Order of Kamehameha, the insignia to follow, since, traveling incognito, the King of Hawaii carried none with him.

When the story of this incident reached Honolulu the *Advertiser* said the king would have been saved such embarrassment by traveling officially and carrying with him the proper gifts for such occasions, but the *Gazette* declared the fault lay with those who insisted on recognizing him as royalty when he was traveling incognito.

In China, the Dowager Empress, aged and ill, was not receiving visitors, therefore the Celestial Empire's welcome to the Hawaiian royal party was less formal. In Shanghai they were waited on by Chinese dignitaries and foreign representatives, and were formally entertained by General Li Hung Chang. Their visit was reported cordially by the press with praise of King Kalakaua as a personage of superior education and elegant manners.

Next stop was Hong Kong, where British entertainment was elaborate. A formal reception was given at Government House by Lord and Lady Hennessy who said: "His Majesty's bearing and conduct would not be excelled by any sovereign." The *China Mail* reported that the King of Hawaii was welcomed "with something more than the official politeness and respect accorded rank."

Interviewed by the *St. James Gazette*, King Kalakaua told of his desire to recruit citizens for rebuilding his kingdom which moved that journal to note that in times past kings had gone forth in quest of a kingdom, and nations in quest of a sovereign, "but perhaps never before has a king gone forth in search of a people for his kingdom. . . . It is sad to report that the touch of civilization has proven fatal to Polynesia."

Siam enchanted the Polynesian monarch, who found the

land and people much like his own. There, as in Hawaii, the people wore necklaces of flowers; they laughed easily, sang often, and faced life with the same joyous abandon that had characterized Hawaiians in ancient times. Unlike Hawaii, however, there was a display of wealth such as the king had never seen before: temples of burnished silver and gold; buildings of marble; costumes of satin brocades gold-embroidered and jewel-studded; great houses filled with a fabulous mixture of European furniture and rich oriental decorations, all amid luxuriant formal gardens.

Immediately upon their arrival the King of Siam, twenty-seven-year-old Souditch-Chou-Fa-Chulalon Korn, sent his own gold-trimmed carriage drawn by four white horses to convey the Hawaiian group to his palace. There they were ushered into a large marble-floored reception hall where the regal host was seated in a gold chair aglitter with gems. He wore a tunic of gold brocade and many decorations. He remained seated while presentations were made, then ordered a chair to be placed by his side for King Kalakaua. All others stood while they were entertained by a group of dancing girls in diaphanous dress with ropes of pearls.

Noting his Hawaiian guest's delight in the performance, His Highness assigned six dancing girls to entertain King Kalakaua during the remainder of his stay.

At a great banquet given in his honor before leaving, King Kalakaua was made a Knight of the Grand Cross of the Crown of Siam and was presented with a gorgeous robe of gold-embroidered satin.

There were brief stops at Singapore, Burma, and India where the royal party was fabulously entertained by native rulers and also by the British governors, and everywhere the people of Asia gazed with admiration upon the tall, commanding figure of the gracious Hawaiian king. Puzzled



by the fact that there was no native Hawaiian in his suite, they asked if he had lost control of his kingdom. When queried about the religion of his people, the king replied, evasively, that he encouraged all religions and Mr. Armstrong, noting his discomfort, taunted him with "having to admit that his native religion was worthless."

Tension between the king and his aides was growing daily and when he remarked that the happiest people were those who believed in the divinity of their rulers, as did the people of Asia and as had the Hawaiians, they were convinced that not even their watchful presence had prevented his acquisition of "dangerous doctrines."

Entertainment in the grand manner continued in each country visited. The Egyptian Khedive and the British Viceroy welcomed them royally in Alexandria, the newspapers describing King Kalakaua as "handsomer and better bred than some European rulers." In Naples, to the great irritation of his aides, they were met by Celso Caesar Moreno and the three Hawaiian boys in his charge. Wrote Mr. Armstrong: "We tried to keep Moreno away from the king . . . but it was impossible." They were further enraged to find that Moreno was trying to get all the European countries to guarantee independence of the Hawaiian Kingdom. Said Armstrong, "We warned the countries that any such action would be looked upon by America as an interference in her sphere of influence."

Moreno had arranged for presentation of King Kalakaua to King Umberto and Queen Margherita of Italy, also an audience with the Pope who, on parting, said cordially, "Your country is far away. I shall pray for your safe return."

Italian newspapers praised the king's appearance, his cultured manners and his wide range of knowledge, one in Rome marveling at "his surprising knowledge of Roman his-

tory and his interest in the great monuments." Another spoke of his "superior intellect. . . . He has a noble presence and distinguished manners."

In each country visited King Kalakaua endeavored to recruit permanent citizens for Hawaii, but each move he made was checkmated by Mr. Armstrong who, signing himself "Minister of State," declared in public statements and private letters to officials that none but laborers were wanted in the Islands. Some of these published statements were sent by Ropert to the *Advertiser* which, amused by Armstrong's "new and unexpected title," published them with comment that "he is obviously endeavoring to hinder any immigration except that of cheap plantation labor although his instructions from the king are that he is to bring families for repopulating the Islands."

Under his newly assumed title "Minister of State" Mr. Armstrong continued his propaganda against the migration of Europeans to Hawaii. In Belgium he said, "Field workers for sugar plantations alone are needed . . . there is slight opportunity for artisans or traders." In Berlin he urged the *Berlinger Zeitung* to give this statement wide circulation: "I wish that emigration to the Hawaiian Islands be rather discouraged than encouraged and this I declare formally and publicly." The paper said that Germans "are not under any circumstances to emigrate to the Sandwich Islands."

When Mr. Armstrong's statement reached Honolulu the *Advertiser* charged: "This is treason that belies the real needs of the country by discouraging . . . enterprise that would benefit Hawaii."

King Kalakaua greatly admired the German nobility. The Prince of Prussia (later Kaiser Wilhelm II) put on an elaborate military display which so impressed him that he ordered some cannons and decided to copy their uniforms.

Throughout Europe he was honored by royalty and hailed by the common people who lined the streets when he went abroad and serenaded him at night. The extent of his learning was a source of constant amazement to everyone. The Vienna *Wiener Zeitung* said: "He evinced a surprising knowledge of all technical sciences, art collections, music, and he is a thorough gentleman in dress, manner, speech. His kindness is such as to make him beloved by everyone who meets him."

Everywhere a favorite with newsmen, he made a tour of all newspaper offices in Paris where he was described by *Le Journal le Figaro* as "the best-educated, most elegantly mannered ruler in the world." While there he bought many beautiful furnishings for his new palace including sixteen gilt-framed, full-length mirrors and ten crystal chandeliers.

In Spain, King Louis decorated him with the Grand Cross of Conception and, on parting, embraced him warmly. In Portugal, King Kalakaua praised the immigrants to his country from the Madeiras and Azores islands. But it was in England that His Majesty felt most at home. On arrival the royal party found rooms reserved for them at the Claridge Hotel and Mr. Follett Syngé assigned to attend the king throughout his stay. The Prince of Wales called immediately and on the following day Queen Victoria's own coach took him to Buckingham Palace where he was cordially greeted by Her Britannic Majesty who later commented on "his charming manner, his excellent English—no foreign sovereign visiting England ever spoke it so fluently."

A great ball was given in his honor at Marlborough House by the Prince of Wales and Lord Charles Beresford. He was honored next at a banquet at Trinity House at which the Orders of the Grand Cross of St. Michael and St. George

were conferred upon him. Princess Mary invited him to luncheon attended by her children "because I want them to meet a Polynesian king with such good manners." The British press referred to his "invariable good taste . . . his quiet repose . . . his extensive reading which prompted him to see the world of which he had read."

Receptions, balls, banquets followed in swift succession, but to King Kalakaua the highlight of his visit was the night he heard the great Patti sing at the Royal Italian Opera. Oblivious of opera glasses turned upon himself, he sat enraptured, naught else existing for him at the moment save the divine voice of the great diva. Wrote Mr. Armstrong: "It was for Kalakaua a supreme moment."

In Scotland it was said that few visitors had ever been given a welcome so warm as that tendered His Hawaiian Majesty. As he drove through Edinburgh people of all classes cheered lustily, removing their hats until he had passed. At a Free Masons' banquet he was invested with "A jewel of the King of the Grand Cross of the Imperial Council of Scotland" and was called "a credit and an ornament to the craft we all love so dearly."

On his return to London, the king ordered two jeweled crowns and a scepter to be used in the coronation of himself and his queen which, already planned before he set off on his world tour, was to take place immediately after the opening of the new Iolani Palace. On leaving his hotel he discovered that all expenses had been paid by the British Government. His rooms aboard the *Celtic* were filled with "flowers from the royal family and many titled ladies."

The grand tour had been dazzling, triumphant, and King Kalakaua had enjoyed every moment. "But," he said, "I am happy to be going home." Mr. Armstrong, fearful that he had been affected by the adulation heaped upon him,



wrote: "I tried to impress upon him that kings were allowed to rule only when they were figureheads . . . and cautioned him not to trifle with his American subjects . . . since they possess the brains and wealth of his kingdom."

A month later, as the royal party boarded the *California* at San Francisco on the last lap of their journey, Mr. Armstrong reminded the king that "he was merely a grasshopper in the pathway of an elephant," saying, "Your people are dying out and will soon be extinct." Replied the king coldly: "Well, other great races have died out. . . . The best way is to let us be. What good have you done my people . . . bringing leprosy, disease, forcing rum upon us . . ."

Concluded Armstrong, "The king did not understand the law of evolution." The Missionaries, he added, were "growing tired of irresponsible Polynesian rule."

## CHAPTER 11

### The Princess Regent Rules Wisely

DURING the eight months of King Kalakaua's absence Princess Regent Liliuokalani had ruled the kingdom with such wisdom as to command the admiration of everyone. Even the *Gazette* admitted that "in laying down her powers she can justly be congratulated upon having used them so well." Several difficult problems had arisen during her brief rule, the worst of which was another disastrous smallpox epidemic such as had swept the Islands periodically since importation of the first coolie labor.

Shortly after the king's departure the steamship *Cassandra*, arriving with several hundred laborers, entered the har-

bor flying the yellow flag. Nevertheless, Board of Health President H. A. P. Carter, yielding to pressure by merchants and planters, permitted all passengers to land. Four more coolie-laden ships followed, three of which also brought smallpox. They, too, were permitted to land all laborers—and the plague spread quickly throughout the kingdom.

Hawaiians held an indignation meeting and condemned the Board of Health. They were not alone in their anger. As the epidemic claimed victims in all classes the *Advertiser* published a letter signed Foreigner: "We are reaping a full harvest which devotion to selfish interest brings in its train. . . . We are gathering the fruit of the deadly upas tree planted . . . in our midst." He, too, urged an investigation of the Board of Health. Gibson charged: "The blood of those who perish is upon whomsoever places property in the scales against immortal lives. . . ." He toured the Islands, giving Hawaiians instruction in prevention and in care of the victims.

Just at this time General S. C. Armstrong returned to the land of his birth and, shocked by the situation, preached a sermon in the Fort Street Church deploring the course being pursued by some of his friends and relatives: "Your rush for gold will make you rich, but your policies are debauching the natives. As you care for your children do not leave an inheritance of Hawaiian homes undermined with . . . opium, disease, wickedness. . . . If wealth is your only object you will get it . . . but do not complain if you do not get a secure and pleasant future for your descendants."

Meanwhile the Princess Regent was exerting every effort to prevent spread of the disease by isolating the infected, caring for afflicted families, and burying the dead. Despite her efforts the disease raged throughout the Islands

for seven months, leaving thousands dead, thousands more bereaved. When the Hawaiians cried out in despair "The hand of God is against us," Gibson begged them not to lose hope: "Do not believe that you are doomed to extinction. You can, you *will* be saved." Other foreigners in letters to the papers promised: "Someday good people everywhere will rise up to protect you. . . ."

Of even greater importance to Hawaiians, however, than promise of aid from the outside world was an event which seemed to prove the steadfast loyalty of their old gods and the power of their own leaders. From the island of Hawaii came word that Pele, goddess of volcanoes, was on the rampage again, pouring a stream of lava down the mountain-side from mighty Mauna Loa. The incandescent stream, headed for the town of Hilo, was reducing to puffs of smoke every living thing in its path.

Princess Regent Liliuokalani, hastening to Hilo, took confident command and ordered the building of dikes to divert the flow. The sugar planters offered all resources at their command and the Rev. Titus Coan asked for continuous prayers, day and night. The dikes were built, but Pele's fiery fingers swept them easily aside and Hilo seemed doomed. Then the Hawaiians, losing what little faith they had in man-made methods and prayers which ignored the fire goddess, begged for intervention by the physically and spiritually powerful Princess Ruth.

Responding promptly, the princess went to Hilo and calmly, confidently made her plans. "Bring me thirty large red silk handkerchiefs and a bottle of brandy—the good kind," she said, adding, "Pele doesn't like cheap things." The kerchiefs and brandy were brought. Dressing herself in a black silk *holoku* and a bright red silk kerchief around her neck, she and her followers advanced to the flow, now

within a mile of Hilo, the princess riding in a carriage enlarged to accommodate her four hundred pounds.

When winded horses lagged, eager hands pushed from behind. By noon they had reached the flaming front beyond which, as far as the eye could see, the land lay steaming, smoldering, with here and there gaunt lava molds, death masks of once-majestic trees. The air was sultry and sulphurous.

With considerable effort Princess Ruth was set afoot and, surrounded by faithful followers, walked to within a few feet of the flaming flow where she stood silent for a few moments while those around her waited, breathless. She started praying to Pele, first softly intoned, tender, persuasive, cajoling; then in a voice imperious, commanding. She tossed in a handful of *ohelo* berries, saying: "These are for you, Pele." She tossed a red *lehua* blossom: "For your hair, Pele."

Untying the scarlet neckerchief she held it high, chanted a brief *mele*, and tossed it to the goddess. So with the other red kerchiefs, one at a time, until all had been accepted by Pele, each offering disappearing in a puff of smoke. Now, chanting in a powerfully resonant voice, she tossed in the bottle of brandy which Pele accepted with a bang and a gesture of brilliant flame. Turning to her followers, Ruth said: "Pele will stop now. Come; let us eat."

After great quantities of food, brought from Hilo, had been consumed the princess said, "We sleep here tonight. We show Pele that we trust her and are not afraid." Ordering her tent pitched only a few feet from the now sluggish and blackening lava, she proceeded to sleep peacefully within while her worshipful followers sang softly throughout the night. Dawn revealed that confidence in Pele had not been misplaced. The lava had stopped scarcely a yard



from the point where the goddess had accepted offerings from her robust priestess. Hawaiian faith in the ancient mores of the race was renewed and strengthened.

For months the "kingmakers" had been greatly disturbed by Armstrong's reports of the adulation being heaped upon King Kalakaua. Soon stories began to appear in American newspapers saying the king had become "anti-American." The *Advertiser*, investigating, found they were being planted by Armstrong who signed himself "correspondent for the *Gazette*."

One story, widely circulated, was that King Kalakaua was trying to sell his islands to some European country. The *New York Times* warned sharply: "Any contract and any alliance made by Kalakaua with European countries would be regarded as an unfriendly act by the United States." Another story, reportedly sent out by the *Gazette*, was that the common people of Hawaii were eager for annexation to the United States "so as to be freed from the tyranny of their rulers."

Retorted the *Advertiser*: "The Hawaiians would not listen to the most dazzling offer in the world, would not exchange their land for all the wealth of America. . . . They would prefer to return to the ancient grass hut . . . than to have luxury in marble halls as the price of surrender of their independence."

Irritated by Gibson's editorials, the "kingmakers" tried to dislodge him from his post with the *Advertiser*. Learning that \$3,000 was still due on the government loan for purchase of the paper, the cabinet officers demanded full payment at once. They got it. The money advanced, so it was rumored, by Claus Spreckels of San Francisco who, though in close business association with the Hawaiian sugar planters, was frequently at outs with them.

Spreckels was becoming a thorn in the side of the "king-makers." Quietly over the years he had been buying land in the Islands until he was now the outright owner of several large sugar plantations and, in addition, held a controlling interest in the crops of many others through marketing their sugar in the United States. A shrewd, calculating man of indomitable will power, he had gained control over the finances of many Island plantations before their owners awoke to what was happening, and a recent story in the New York papers irked them greatly. Spreckels was quoted as saying: "If the Hawaiian planters could get more for their sugar from someone else they would do so. But they can't. They stay with me because they know I can do for them what they cannot do for themselves."

Now to their financial dependence upon him was added the further disturbing fact of his friendship for Walter Murray Gibson and his growing intimacy with King Kalakaua who did not conceal his preference for the companionship of Spreckels and his partner, William Irwin of San Francisco, to that of the "missionary crowd." This situation, decided the "kingmakers," must be remedied on King Kalakaua's return.

## CHAPTER 12

### The King's Triumphal Homecoming

DECORATION of Honolulu for King Kalakaua's homecoming October 31 aboard the SS *California* had not been finished when, in the early morning of October 29 the ship, flying the Hawaiian royal standard, was sighted from Diamond Head. Word was carried swiftly to the official

entertainment committee and a call went forth for volunteers to rush the city's decoration. Response was immediate, generous, and efficient, and soon the city was gaily dressed.

All public buildings wore flags and bunting and some individuals paid personal tribute by decorating their places of business, among them the king's loyal friend George Lucas over whose Planing Mill, gay with greenery, was a huge arch bearing "Welcome to Our King. We are *all* the King's Own!" Over the office door was His Majesty's picture with the legend *He Hiwa Hiwa Aloha* (Our Best Beloved.)

The Chinese erected several arches, all covered with red satin overlaid with greenery, hung with gay paper lanterns and the greeting "Welcome from your children of the Flowery Kingdom." At the corner of King and Fort Streets they built an exquisite pagoda bearing the inscription *Hawaii kui lima me Kina* (Hawaii and China have joined hands.)

Over the street from wharf to palace official triumphal arches bore the greeting *E Hoi E Ka Lani* (Welcome Home, O Heavenly One), and one over the royal gate at the palace grounds bore a golden crown and *E Ka Mea i Ho'ano Ia* (O, the Blessed Chosen One). Everywhere there were bustle and excitement as Hawaii prepared to welcome her sovereign, described by the *Advertiser* as "The foremost man of the Pacific . . . the friend of the Great of the earth: our Sovereign, His Majesty King Kalakaua."

At the wharf stood a platform eighteen feet high, decorated with bunting and palms and at each corner a *kukui* torch. In the center stood the *pulo'ulo'u*, ancient symbol of royal sanctity. From the platform a crimson velvet carpet was laid to a flower-bedecked carriage waiting to bear His Majesty to the palace.

As the SS *California* neared the harbor she was met by a fleet of canoes with singers whose melodies were temporarily submerged in the roar of salutes from ships at anchor and the cheers of thousands as the king came ashore and was escorted to the platform.

First address of welcome was by the Hon. Charles R. Bishop: "Your subjects and friends have learned with pride . . . of the distinguished honors . . . extended to Your Majesty. . . . Honor to the sovereign is reflected upon his country and excites the patriotism of his subjects. . . . The hearts of the people, native and foreign, are with you, Sire."

Next speaker was the Hon. Simon Kaai: "O Chief, Father, Sovereign! be pleased to listen to this voice of love. . . . The green and fertile valleys of your home are smiling with happiness and the whispering sea seems to say that the wishes of your royal heart have been abundantly fulfilled. So return, O Great Na-la'i-a-Ehu! Rest with ease in the bosom of thy land . . . in the embrace and love of thy people. Long live Your Majesty and may prosperity surround your royal throne. This is our never-ceasing prayer."

The king was then escorted to his carriage to ride over rush-covered streets through flowery arches to Iolani Palace while along the route singers caroled, chanters praised him. A delegation of children from the Mormon Settlement at Laie bore a banner inscribed "Welcome Beloved David King Circumnavigator."

Celebrations continued for days in schools, churches, and homes; invitations came from the outer islands. Their Majesties went first to the island of Maui to be house guests of a handsome, sports-loving former New Yorker, William H. Cornwell, known throughout the Islands as the "Duke



of Waikapu." Awaiting the royal guests at Malaea Landing, where the shore line glowed with *kukui* torches, were the host and hostess, their two beautiful daughters, scores of Hawaiian singers, and a large group of friends.

Flower-bedecked carriages stood ready to bear the royal party in a spectacular cavalcade up the valley to the Cornwell mansion. Leading were six outriders in red satin shirts and black trousers, the first two bearing flaming torches, the next two feather *kahilis*. Following the carriages came twelve young horsewomen, the first six wearing the flowing bifurcated *pa'u* riding skirt of pink satin, then six more in *pa'u* of pale green satin; riders and horses were wreathed in fragrant *maile leis*. Bringing up the rear, mounted musicians filled the air with melody as the gay, colorful procession moved over a roadway bedight with evergreens and ferns. An elaborate ball that evening brought the welcome to a perfect climax.

The royal tour closed with a visit to the island of Hawaii where, by "the shining waters of Ka'u," prayers of gratitude for the king's safe return were made in an ancient temple to the gods of his forefathers.

The exciting, triumphant year ended with a tribute to King Kalakaua in the San Francisco *Examiner* by Mrs. Augusta Hartole who, after praising his devotion to his people, said:

His bookcases are filled with the writings of celebrated authors and poets and he reads with interest all that is good. He towers above his nation like a fleecy cloud in the sky for he is not alone an educated man but also a thinking and farseeing gentleman . . . interested in seeing that his subjects are educated in the arts and in agriculture. . . . He will earn the title "The

Great" which, I prophesy, will someday be added to his name.

## CHAPTER 13

### Gibson Outsmarts the "Kingmakers"

As the legislative election of 1882 drew near, another effort was made to eliminate Walter Murray Gibson from the political scene. He was arrested for libel on a charge brought by William Armstrong and based on Gibson's comment that in his letter to the *Berliner Zeitung* Armstrong had committed "treason to the state." Excited spectators crowded the courtroom.

Gibson was defended by Britisher Edward Preston while for Armstrong appeared W. O. Smith and A. S. Hartwell, who attempted to prove that Gibson was "an evil influence in the community" and that he had tried "to influence the Hawaiians against the foreigners." In rebuttal, Preston submitted a booklet by Gibson for Hawaiians written in 1876 urging them not to hate the foreigners but to remember only the good things they had brought; not to waste time regretting their losses of the past but to look to the future, have faith in themselves, and grow strong with the aid of the many foreigners who were loyal to them.

Next, Preston submitted a statement made in 1878 by Attorney Smith that Gibson alone had been able to quiet the anger of the Hawaiians over the leper situation and that Gibson's influence over the native legislators accounted for passage of much good legislation.

Speeches made by Gibson in the previous Legislature

were presented as proof that he had urged the Hawaiians to forget past injustices and look to the future. In one exhibit after another Preston was able to prove that Gibson's advice to the Hawaiians had always been affirmative and for the good of themselves and the nation. So completely did he knock out arguments of the prosecution that, after a bit of legal skirmishing, the case was dropped. As an attempt to smear Gibson it had failed utterly.

The *Gazette's* only comment on the case was that "Mr. Armstrong showed great wisdom by not throwing to Europeans inducements to come. . . . We do not want indiscriminate immigration."

Gibson's most effective weapon at all times—and the one most infuriating to his enemies—was that he could not be provoked to anger. When the trial was over he wrote: "I have no vindictive feeling against those who oppose me. . . . I am interested in the progress of these islands but I consider the lives of the people as transcending in importance any question of mere material progress. . . . I have planted my stakes here, my gray hairs will lie in Hawaiian soil, and when I die I do not wish to be honored with the trappings of woe but wish only that fellow citizens may stand by my graveside and say, 'Here lies a true friend of the Hawaiian nation.'"

Commissioner of Immigration Armstrong had made no report on his findings abroad. The *Advertiser* now insisted that he do so. When finally submitted it was largely an argument *against* importation of various races. East Indians, he said, "Would not fit into the needs of the community," and, furthermore, England would demand permission to send a "protector for them. As to the Japanese, foreigners living in Japan had advised him not to import them: "They are almost pygmies . . . and not altogether

trustworthy." Europeans, generally, he found, made too many demands, but he approved of bringing more Portuguese: "They are good workers."

He warned against importing too many Chinese: "There must not be enough of one race to establish a controlling influence." Calling attention to their growing influence in politics and their increasing intimacy with the Hawaiians, he said: "Everywhere the king goes he is welcomed by them; flowers are strewn in his pathway; satin banners with Chinese dragons greet him at every turn. . . . The walls of the city are always covered with Chinese emblems and no one knows what they mean. . . . It is a very uncomfortable condition of affairs to live under." His conclusion: "We must keep the Islands just as they are now."

In the legislative campaign now opening, every effort was made by the "clique" to defeat Gibson, but every attack boosted his prestige. His consistent theme was assurance to Hawaiians that they were strong enough to survive: "With all my soul I believe in the enduring vitality of your race. . . . You are not a doomed people, but you must aid in promotion of your own welfare." He urged them to take full advantage of the Queen's Hospital "established solely for your benefit"; begged them to avoid strong drink: "Remember that the Great Kamehameha forbade it." And always he asked that they not look back on ills of the past: "Your king's heart is with you . . . together we will build a fine and honorable future and I intend to declare my faith and hope in the next Legislature."

He urged a revival of sports: "It is mainly through songs and games that a national spirit is preserved. . . . I pray that the old spirit of manliness and courage be revived for someday His Majesty may need bold-hearted followers to defend the nation's cause."



In reply to Gibson's insistence that the Hawaiians were strong enough to survive as a nation the *Gazette* ran a series of articles ridiculing "those who cry Hawaii for Hawaiians . . . they will eventually all die out . . . the race cannot be perpetuated." Gibson replied:

Hawaiians are Aryan in origin and characteristics, closely allied to the *haoles* who have come here. . . . They will be able to hold their own if they are governed by enlightened minds who seek their welfare above all things. . . . These islands are not necessarily destined to be merely a group of plantations and a syndicate of traders . . . they should be the spiritual leader of the Pacific.

As Gibson's campaign increased in fervor, alarm mounted among his opponents. His arrival at any gathering brought thunderous applause from the audience which would shout down the speaker of the moment and demand that Gibson be heard. His followers were emotional, almost worshipful. The *Gazette* referred to him sneeringly as "The Shepherd," and his followers adopted the name lovingly. On the last night of the campaign he was given an ovation such as no candidate, native or foreign, had ever before been accorded. His final speech rang with patriotism as he declared: "If I ever betray the Hawaiians I hope the very lightning will strike me dead!" His vote exceeded by three times that of any other candidate. Never before in Hawaii had so many votes been cast for one candidate.

Prior to opening of the Legislature Gibson made a tour of Oahu to thank the people for their support. Everywhere he was greeted as a conquering hero. Warmly welcomed at the Mormon settlement at Laie by Bishop Woolley, he congratulated the people there upon having the best-run

plantation in the Islands. "Only here do births exceed deaths. Each family has a separate house and the family unit is preserved and honored. Above all religious sects, the Mormons understand human needs, the human heart." Again he made notation in his diary: "Donation for the Mormon Church."

At each stop he assured the people: "We, the foreigners who have made this our adopted home, are in honor bound to stand faithfully by your side. . . . I shall dedicate myself to that end."

On April 29 the Legislature was opened with pomp and ceremony, the royal family arriving in carriages drawn by fine horses handled by grooms in livery. His Majesty wore the full-dress uniform of a general of the King's Own. The unicameral Assembly was organized with the Hon. Godfrey Rhodes of the House of Nobles as president, Representative Aholo, vice-president, and Gibson, floor leader.

Gibson's first move was to urge establishment of a museum "for the preservation of Polynesian literature and culture. It will cost money but is just as essential to the welfare of the Islands as is the financial business of plantations. . . . The planters have asked for the establishment of a professor of chemistry . . . let the Government give us also a Hawaiian professor of Polynesian lore and put the museum in his hands." This suggestion brought jeers and screams of rage from his opponents.

Next, Gibson asked for an appropriation of \$1,200 for buying back feather cloaks which had been taken from the Islands: "They are of great historical value." He asked for additional money "to search for the ancient things which have been lost or concealed." Why not search for Captain Kidd's treasure? sneered the *Gazette*.

Undaunted, Gibson continued to propose legislation for

both the spiritual and physical needs of the Hawaiians. He said a large appropriation was needed for the care of lepers, still disgracefully neglected. His advocacy of a free school system brought howls of derision from the opposition.

Before Gibson could get his legislative program under way the wheel of destiny was to make another of its swift, dramatic turns for him and, following an amazing series of events that brought about the downfall of the king's Cabinet, he was catapulted to the top of the Government as Premier of the Kingdom. It happened thus:

The Reciprocity Treaty with the United States was nearing the end of its seven-year term and a renewal must be negotiated. The recently organized Sugar Planters Association drafted a treaty and sent it to Premier William Lowthian Green, Minister of Foreign Affairs. It included the cession of Pearl River estuary to the United States. After studying it carefully, Green replied: "I do not believe that the proposal is a sound one. . . . The United States has made no demand for [Pearl River] . . . they wish only that no other power should control it and that is what we all want."

Angered that he would dare oppose their plans, the planters accused Green of being "anti-American . . . prompted by personal prejudice and vanity." They began secret plans for ousting him. To do so would fit in with another scheme they had been considering since the election. Convinced by now that they could not defeat Gibson politically, they had decided to attempt seduction with promises of power and prestige.

The complete story of their activities to this end was revealed in Premier Green's statement to the *Advertiser*. Cession of Pearl River to the United States, he wrote, could be accomplished only with consent of the Legislature which

only Gibson could obtain. "Therefore, a gentleman generally considered to be the active agent of the Planters Association waited upon Mr. Gibson and strongly urged him to take a position in a new cabinet under conditions offered him."

The proposal to Gibson: The planters would tell the king to dismiss his Cabinet and make Gibson Premier and Minister of Foreign Affairs. Then under a ruling already established by themselves making appointment of the rest of the Cabinet by the premier mandatory, Gibson was to permit the planters to name his colleagues—thus assuring planter control of the Government.

Gibson listened courteously and asked for time to think it over. Meanwhile, another planters' representative called upon the king and suggested, casually, that perhaps it might be well to dismiss Green and make Gibson Premier. The king indicated his willingness and the emissary departed, promising to return later with a completed plan.

Forthwith, Gibson and the king conferred and word of the planters' plot was slipped secretly to Green who promptly resigned for himself and his cabinet. He wrote:

His Majesty sent for the gentleman who had been the first choice of the people for Representative . . . and requested him to form a Cabinet, it being natural that His Majesty should desire in his councils one who was the choice of both native and foreign-born population. . . .

The new Premier, however, seeing that the game was in his own hands, selected his colleagues to suit the king and himself—and his would-be supporters were forced to retire, crestfallen, and cry through their organ [the *Gazette*] that the country was in danger!



"What!" added Green with a touch of malice, "with the man of their choice at the head of their affairs? If the country is in danger—which I do not believe—they have nobody but themselves to blame."

The *Gazette*, charging that Green was moved by "personal vanity," attacked him viciously for resigning so precipitously, to which he replied that after staging the downfall of the Ministry it was scarcely sporting of the planters to kick them for falling!

Wrote Green: "I am aware that when Mr. Gibson declined to be made a tool of . . . they would have been glad to see even the old ministry patched up, but it was too late now, for a new set of performers had come upon the stage and, quick to take advantage of the situation, they take the cue and continue the game.

"Thus in a most remarkable circumstance His Excellency Walter Murray Gibson has been lifted into the highest political position in the Kingdom by the exertions of his bitterest opponents. . . . He is now in power and independent of them. . . . I cannot conclude without joining in the tribute the whole community are compelled to pay to the consummate skill which His Excellency the Premier has displayed in taking advantage of the situation. . . . The late events may perhaps convey a wholesome lesson to some of the 'smarties' in the political arena . . . and remind them of the adage about being careful how they play with edged tools." (signed) W. L. Green.

Gibson moved quickly into action. He appointed as Minister of Interior the Hon. Simon Kaai, described by the *Advertiser* as "a pure Hawaiian, eloquent, patriotic, a member of the House of Nobles and Privy Council." Appointed Minister of Finance was John E. Bush, a well-

educated Anglo-Hawaiian and member of the House of Nobles. Edward Preston, Esq., an English lawyer who had lived in the Islands since 1870 and had served as a member of the Legislature, was made Attorney General.

On the day the Cabinet was announced the Hawaiians and those foreigners in sympathy with their cause marched in a great torchlight parade to Gibson's house with banners proclaiming their joy over the wonderful victory. Pausing en route before the palace, they cried out to the king: "What you have done, you have done well!"

Gibson stood on his *land'i* looking down upon the cheering crowd and wept as Kau, spokesman for the demonstrators, told him the torches they carried were symbols of the light that had come to the kingdom through his appointment. Gibson replied: "This is the happiest moment of my life. . . . Your torches that now illuminate my premises light up a pathway of promise before me. . . . I give you my heart as you have given me yours. I shall faithfully strive to deserve your trust. . . . We, unitedly, the Government and the People, shall not fail to promote the best welfare of our common country."

One of the new government's first appointments won approval of both factions; that of Britisher John S. Walker as auditor of the kingdom for life. The *Gazette* praised him but attacked all other appointments, particularly the tax assessors. The reason for this was apparent when it was shown that all properties owned by the "clique" enjoyed an exceedingly low tax rate. The Government turned up evidence of public revenues funneled into private pockets; of destruction of state papers; of charges made by government-paid physicians for services to poor Hawaiians, contrary to law; and many other forms of "favoritism."

When it was proven that illegal leases of crown lands had

been given to favored groups, word was quietly passed to Hawaiians that they might homestead certain crown lands back of Honolulu known as Makiki (later Papakolea) with the permission of their king. Many did so, to live there happily. Called "squatters" by some, they thought of themselves as homesteaders living rightfully upon the lands of their *ali'i* as in ancient days.

Once again the labor question caused turmoil in the Legislature. A half-million-dollar appropriation, introduced by the planters, aroused the Hawaiians violently. Pointing out that of the Islands' 75,000 population almost 30,000 were non-Hawaiians, they cried angrily: "The planters are trying to blot us out with other races."

Some foreigners loyal to Hawaiians were for the bill provided all immigration was controlled by the Government for the purpose of importing a good citizenry. Gibson urged its passage under those conditions as did also Nobles Charles R. Bishop and Godfrey Rhodes. Noble Archibald Cleghorn preferred Portuguese: "They marry Hawaiian women and produce good stock." The planters wanted Japanese: "We must not make these islands a colony of China . . . but we must get enough labor so that labor must be looking for a job . . . by the time he is here a week he realizes that he is master."

After much debate the bill was passed, but many Hawaiians, still fearful, voted against it. The planters announced they had chosen Samuel T. Alexander to go to Japan to seek workers. The Government refused to give him credentials, saying they would appoint their own commissioner. To an angry attack upon the Government by the *Planters' Monthly* the *Advertiser* replied: "They are angry at discovering that King Kalakaua has more brains and will power than the previous king, whom they easily controlled . . . what they want is control by oligarchy."

When the appropriation for the Queen's Hospital came up the usual small group opposed it and the *Gazette* said: "It is a gross injustice that the money should be spent entirely on Hawaiians." When the bill passed, the Hawaiians, with their customary generosity, then passed another providing one third of the sum "for the care of indigent foreigners."

Another hotly debated bill was that settling the claim of Claus Spreckels to 24,000 acres he bought from Princess Ruth who inherited them directly from Kamehameha III. Attorney General Preston ruled that the land was Ruth's to sell and that Spreckels' purchase was legal, but the planters cried angrily that the king was giving special favors to "court favorites."

A bill to permit sale of liquor to Hawaiians triggered another bitter fight, the lines drawn only between those who felt it would stop illegal sales and those who did not. After its passage the *Gazette*, while admitting that "It is to the credit of the Hawaiians that no drunkenness occurred after its passage," nonetheless referred to it ever afterward as "one of the evils of the Gibson regime."

Each appropriation for the royal family brought screams of rage from the king's opponents, but Representative Aholo, guiding the legislation, reminded that those same men had been made millionaires by the treaty secured by His Majesty: "And now they object to him enjoying any of the money!" To protests against an appropriation for educating six more young Hawaiians in America and England he said: "We remember when these people who now talk so loudly about 'our money' were poor, dependent upon the kindness of our parents. Many of them were nursed at the breasts of our mothers. We remember—but they do not."

Realizing that they were fighting a losing battle at home the king's opponents decided to send William Armstrong to



the United States to propagandize in their behalf. Despite the fact that the kingdom had never known such financial prosperity, Armstrong traveled across America spreading the story that the Hawaiian Islands "are facing utter ruin . . . the people groaning under taxes . . . the kingdom on the verge of anarchy."

An American congressman wrote to the *Advertiser*: "Armstrong is set up with a huge expense account . . . and spreading stories of terrible conditions in Hawaii. [He says] the Ministry holds office under protest of the people . . . and describes Gibson as a wily tyrant who oppresses the people . . . is planning to establish a native rule and push out all Americans . . . that he is flooding the Islands with Asiatics."

In publishing the letter the *Advertiser* advised the planters to "muzzle their man so he will not injure them as well as the Islands."

The *Advertiser* then contrasted Armstrong's efforts "to spread poison about the Hawaiians" with the activities of two other American missionaries, the Rev. Howard Hitchcock and the greatly beloved "Father" Lyons. Hitchcock had recently announced "in the clear voice of a patriotic heart" that he would "stick by the Hawaiians." And on the island of Hawaii the people were declaring their devotion to "Father" Lyons by celebrating the fiftieth anniversary of his arrival. Said Gibson: "Father Lyons has devoted his life to loving care of the Hawaiians . . . he has never turned his back on the natives but devotes his every living hour to their betterment. . . . He is the kind of American who makes the name of America loved and respected."

The king's opponents now adopted a new strategy in their fight against the Government. Realizing they could not change matters as long as Gibson was at King Kalakaua's

side, they began a campaign to separate them. *Gazette* editorials now placed the blame for everything on Gibson rather than the king, to whom they suggested that all would be forgiven if Gibson were set aside. One editorial described him as "a man of great talent . . . of keen acumen, of excellent education, and of undeniable power of reading character . . . all of which have been prostituted to stand in his present position." The king was warned that to protect Gibson was to bring about his own destruction.

Gibson's only reply was "to do less than to assist these people with their problems is to disgrace the name of America. . . ."

Failing in their attempt to separate Gibson and the king, the *Gazette* attacked His Majesty directly. Jeering at plans for the coronation, it said: "We should think that the pure gold of the crown would rot on the brow of the sovereign . . . the occasion will be a grinning skeleton." He was denounced for giving medals to distinguished foreigners; "posing before the great powers," and for bringing in chanters from the outer islands "to record vile and vulgar chants . . . claiming they are of historical importance." The planters made Kalakaua king, declared an editorial, because they thought he would be their friend, "but he has gone over to the natives."

In denouncing this revival of ancient customs, another *Gazette* editorial moralized: "Vigorous races have always clothed themselves . . . nudity is pagan . . . to expose the face and hands is permissible but the rest of the body is strictly physical and arouses morbid passions . . . the situation is fruitful of evil!"

American Minister to Hawaii General James Comly, who was wholly in sympathy with the aims and ambitions of the sugar planters, was honored with a banquet at which speech

after speech emphasized: "This country belongs to those who made it." Broadly hinted was a plan to "eject the king and leave him without income." Gibson was denounced as a scoundrel, one speaker charging, "He is thwarting our efforts to bring in labor." One boasted, "We can destroy the government when we choose to do so . . . the fruit is rotten and will soon drop."

The only protest was by a visitor, James M. Davidson of Richmond, Virginia, who said: "There is no immediate danger to your business and no problem that cannot be solved by time. . . . Let the Americans in Hawaii be true to themselves, loyal to the ideals of their native land. Let them educate their children and cultivate their minds and, above all, subdue their emotional tendencies. Be governed by reason and all will be well."

The *Gazette* recorded that Davidson received no applause at all when he sat down.

## CHAPTER 14

### The Coronation

As Premier, Walter Murray Gibson kept a day-by-day record of all happenings. Unlike his personal diaries, often emotional, at times overly sentimental, these were terse, factual, coldly objective. Realizing the possible danger to himself in this fight for preservation of the Hawaiian Kingdom, sensing that even a martyr's death might await him, he accepted the situation with his customary fatalism.

While in the beginning he had seemed to look upon the Hawaiians (as he had also upon the Mormon Church)

merely as a means of developing his own "predestined plot of dust and soul," his attitude now was completely changed. The welfare of the native Hawaiians, success of their sovereign, and strengthening the nation were uppermost in his mind and every page of his diary records his wholehearted devotion to that end regardless of consequences to himself.

When the *Gazette* attacked him as originator of the coronation plan, he noted: "It is true that the idea was mine but I planned it not to feed the vanity of the king as they assert but to strengthen the nationalism of the people . . . the same motive prompting my producing the statue of Kamehameha."

When the clique succeeded in cutting off money to complete the palace there were frequent notations such as: "I paid the palace workmen \$427 today out of my own purse." Or, again: "His Majesty needed money so I lent him \$400. He has no idea of money and would borrow any amount. But I must not allow anything to go wrong at this crucial time." And later: "The king will have to be held in. I must give him good reasons for our present money difficulties . . . our enemies must not be given an excuse for causing trouble." On dates corresponding with these entries in his diary, the *Gazette* was filled with charges that Gibson was using his position for the accumulation of graft. His comment: "Our enemies understand nothing but money, have no common bond except the common creed of money worship."

After attending a reception aboard the USS *Alaska* Gibson wrote of an eminent citizen who "urged an excess of champagne on His Majesty. . . . The king felt my watchfulness and left when I asked him to." This same watchfulness was extended to all Hawaiians to whom he referred repeatedly as "too trusting for their own safety." With sor-



row he noted that Minister of Finance Kaai, "a brilliant man when sober," was being led astray by those who deliberately plied him with liquor. At the king's suggestion that Kaai be replaced Gibson replied, "We must not make a break in our ministerial ranks. I will look after him."

As the *Gazette's* attacks upon Gibson became more venomous, he wrote: "The king's opponents grow more threatening but the knowledge that the Hawaiians need me gives me courage to go on. The confidence of friends is helpful. Mrs. [Samuel] Damon gives me frequent assurance of her kind sympathy for me in my present trials."

Convinced that Gibson was stalling on the importation of labor, the planters requested an interview with the king who asked Gibson to be present. When the delegation arrived, they were embarrassed by Gibson's presence but after an awkward moment the spokesman read aloud their memorial denouncing him and demanding his dismissal from the Ministry. Thanking them courteously for coming, the king accepted the memorial, handed it to Gibson, saying: "My Ministry will reply to your request." Gibson's diary records:

It was amusing to note among those present Hartwell and Spalding who proposed to intrigue with me to oust the former Ministry and put me in—and who now propose to intrigue me out. . . . Mr. Walker says my reply was very adroit; gave the enemy nothing to agitate upon. The King was worried at first but I was not. I have taken the measure of these men before. . . . Their opposition does not worry me, but I *am* anxious about money to finish the palace.

With Gibson advancing his own money here and borrowing from others there, Iolani Palace was finished and for-

mally opened December 27, 1882, with a banquet honoring His Majesty's fellow Masons who had officiated at the cornerstone ceremony. The stately, ornate building was called by its designer, Australian T. J. Baker, "American Florentine" and described by the *Advertiser* as "Italian architecture of the later Middle Ages."

From the spacious entrance hall a graceful stairway led to the royal apartments on the second floor. On the right, off the entrance hall, was the throne room carpeted with red velvet under sparkling chandeliers, all reflected in wall panels of full-length mirrors. On the opposite side of the entrance hall a banquet room was richly furnished. Adjoining it was the Blue Room, with armchairs, lounges, a piano; draperies and upholstery in soft shades of blue. Folding doors permitted throwing the two rooms into one when required.

Upstairs the Music Room, with easy chairs, small tables, bookshelves, and a grand piano, was used as a breakfast and living room by Their Majesties whose apartments were on either side. The king's suite, facing the mountains, consisted of a bedroom, library, dressing room, and bath. The color scheme was blue, the furniture ebony and gold. The queen's bedroom, rose-colored, featured a ceiling-high mirror framed in gold and upon its shelf a gold-and-enamel clock with matching candlesticks. Two guestrooms faced the sea. French windows in all rooms opened upon a broad *land'i*. Servants' quarters, kitchen, pantry, a billiard room, and the chamberlain's apartment occupied the large basement.

When the palace was opened to the public even the bitterest of King Kalakaua's opponents were forced to admit that its elegance and beauty were reflections of his own good taste, for he had selected and supervised every detail. Most of the furniture was of the graceful Empire style, chosen by

him in Paris. Tastefully incorporated were the many beautiful gifts received on his trip around the world.

Now provided with a proper setting for entertaining, the regal munificence of Kalakaua's parties was to increase the number of writers, artists, musicians, and scholars who came from all parts of the world to the most talked-of court in the Pacific. Among the more distinguished were Mr. and Mrs. Joseph Strong, he a well-known artist, she the step-daughter of Robert Louis Stevenson whose writings had already made him famous.

Strong had been commissioned to paint Island scenes for John D. Spreckels of San Francisco but another reason for their coming was the presence in Honolulu of their friend Charles Warren Stoddard whose book *South Sea Idyl* was spreading interest in the Pacific area. Many years later Isobel Strong (Field) was to record her own impressions of Hawaii and the South Seas in her autobiography, *This Life I've Loved*.

First off, Stoddard told the Strongs they would have to decide whether to join the Royal Set or the Missionaries: "They don't mix . . . if you go to the missionary ice-cream socials . . . the king's set will put you down as a Missionary and leave you out of their parties." Wrote Isobel: "I learned to my great surprise that the word 'missionary' had a political significance like Democrat or Republican. The leaders were the sons and grandsons of the original missionaries who came to Hawaii to convert the heathen. They were rich, prosperous businessmen with one aim: to wrest the Islands from the natives and have it taken over by the United States."

The Strongs had no difficulty in making a decision. They joined the Royal Set.

February 12, 1883, was chosen for the coronation, and

the previous weeks were filled with feverish activity as invitations were dispatched to the heads of all world powers and an army of helpers trained.

In the palace grounds a grand amphitheater was provided for 4,000, and for the ceremony an octagonal pavilion, twenty-five feet in diameter, connected with the *makai* palace *land'i* by a fifty-foot raised walkway. Each facet of the coronation stand bore the name of a Hawaiian king, circled with a *lei* of *maile* leaves; over the entrance was that of King Kalakaua and the coronation date.

The *Advertiser* issued daily reports on plans for the ceremonial and gave instructions for proper dress: "Ladies' costumes should conform to the princess style . . . but only ladies in the royal pavilion and the lower balcony of the palace will be expected to wear full dress with medium train; no bonnets. Guests seated in the grand amphitheater are not required to wear full dress but should be tastefully attired as on any festive occasion. . . . All classes have been invited and His Majesty does not want anyone to feel that they will not be welcome if not expensively dressed. . . . Full dress will be expected at the Grand Ball."

While the *Advertiser* was encouraging the people to full participation in the activities "intended as an expression of national spirit" the *Gazette*, jeering at all things connected with the coronation, urged the people not to attend, saying that to do so would bring down upon them the contempt "of the better element of the community." Hawaiian-language papers under missionary control were filled with similar warnings and all over America stories were planted that "an uprising is expected on the day of coronation." The *Advertiser* marveled that in view of these attacks "His Majesty always treats the editors with courtesy and urbanity."

Early in January a burly Irishman, Charles Patrick Car-



son, called at the *Advertiser* and told manager Hayselden, Gibson's son-in-law, that he had been brought down from San Francisco "to promote trouble at the time of the coronation and to bring about the assassination of Gibson." After learning the true situation, he said his sympathies had become wholly Hawaiian and he wanted to offer his services to the king. Hayselden sent him to Gibson to whom he gave all details of the riot which was to be staged just as the king was being crowned: "Old Squires on Maunakea Street is to start it," he said. In the ensuing confusion he, Carson, was to shoot Gibson. He had been promised protection if identified.

Gibson reported all details to the king and it was decided to accept Carson's offer of assistance. Detectives and policemen were assigned to all danger spots and Carson himself was sent on a trip around the island to feel out the situation. He was instructed to talk *against* the king, and so successful was his ruse that Princess Liliuokalani, hearing of his talk, warned her brother not only against him but against Gibson whom she believed was implicated. The king told Gibson: "I thought it best not to tell the whole truth even to her."

Detailing a bodyguard around the clock to protect Gibson, the king said: "You have raised the spirits of my people and we need you. We owe more to you than to any other man in the kingdom."

Immediately after his appointment as Premier, Gibson had brought his daughter, Mrs. Hayselden, from Lanai to serve as his official hostess and his diary is filled with notations of his joy at having her with him again. Now he wrote: "Only the presence of my beloved, my wise, serene, and gentle Talula sustains me in these troublous times."

For three days prior to the coronation the Islands were deluged by torrential rains. On the night of February 11

Gibson wrote: "The dreadful rains still pouring down." But, recorded the *Advertiser*, "On the morning of the 12th . . . the sun shone forth with unwonted brilliance . . . and, strange to say, the morning star was seen in the heavens shining contemporaneously with the sun. The Hawaiians regard this as a happy omen."

Honolulu reacted joyously to the return of brilliant sunshine. By dawn the streets were crowded with happily chattering people and strolling musicians filled the flower-perfumed air with melody. The new palace was hung with ropes of greenery, flowers, and bunting; all surrounding streets were covered with rushes; homes and public buildings gaily decorated, and in the harbor battleships sent by England, France, and America for the occasion were properly "dressed."

The coronation was to take place at noon, but by nine o'clock the palace amphitheater was filled to overflowing and 4,000 more were sitting on the ground and crowded into windows and *lanai's* of surrounding buildings.

All great countries of the world had sent official representatives, some accompanied by their wives. These were seated on the palace *lanai* at the right of the entrance, and included representatives from the United States, England, France, Germany, Portugal, Italy, Sweden, Denmark, The Netherlands, Belgium, Mexico, and Japan. On the left sat members of the Cabinet, the Legislature, governors of all the islands, other high Government officials, the clergy, and a large group of eminent citizens.

Gay chatter and laughter which had filled the palace grounds since early morning were silenced abruptly at eleven-fifteen when conch shells, blown by heralds, announced the opening of the coronation ceremony. Appearing first in the palace doorway, Chamberlain Charles H.

Judd moved slowly down the walkway to the pavilion followed by Marshal of the Household John Kapena, Marshal of the Kingdom W. C. Parke, the Rev. Alexander Macintosh, Legislative President Godfrey Rhodes, and Chancellor A. Francis Judd, Chief Justice.

Next came the Princesses of the Blood and their escorts. Then bearers of the king's jewels and decorations, the scepter, the Sword of State, the royal robes, the *pulo'ulo'u*, the sacred Torch of *Iwi-kau-ikaua*, the royal *kahilis* and, last, the golden jewel-studded crowns upon satin cushions borne by young Prince David Kawananakoa. The crowns, fashioned with gold replicas of *taro* leaves, were set with diamonds, pearls, opals, emeralds, and rubies, and six highly polished *kukui* nuts.

Appearance of Their Majesties in the palace doorway caused a rustle of excitement. The king wore the white uniform of the King's Guard with white helmet and plume of red, white, and blue; his decorations were the Grand Cordon, Star and Collar, the Order of Kamehameha, and royal decorations from England, Portugal, Siam, and Japan. The queen was robed in a gorgeous gown of cardinal velvet bordered in ermine with white satin front panel embroidered in gold, designed for the occasion by J. Furneaux of London. Matching satin slippers, a jeweled bracelet, and a delicate lace fan completed her costume.

Princess Liliuokalani wore a Parisian toilette of gold brocade with court train and a headdress of gold leaves and white feathers tipped with pearls; Princess Likelike, a white satin brocade trimmed with pearls and ostrich feathers and slippers of scarlet satin. The queen's sisters, Poomaikelani and Kekaulike, were attired in cardinal velvet with long court trains; all of the ladies wore long white gloves.

The crowd maintained breathless silence as members of

the royal family took their places in the pavilion, but when eight-year-old Princess Kaiulani, accompanied by her governess, appeared, there was a gasp of delight as the people leaned forward to get a better view of the fairylike child who was the idol of the kingdom. Her dainty ruffled dress was of pale blue silk; her dark curly hair tied back with a large bow of blue ribbon. In response to the murmur of admiration that swept the crowd, she smiled shyly.

The coronation ceremony opened with a recital of the king's genealogy by Marshal Kapena, following which the symbols of royalty were formally presented to His Majesty. Chancellor Judd, placing the Sword of State upon the king's extended hands, said: "Receive the kingly sword as the ensign of Justice and Mercy." Princess Likelike then advanced with the golden feather cloak of Kamehameha which the chancellor placed upon the king's shoulders, saying: "Receive this ancient Royal Mantle of your predecessors as the ensign of Knowledge and Wisdom."

In turn, the other symbols were presented: the *pulo'ulo'u*, symbol of rulership, the *kahili* of Pili made of white feathers as it had been for Kuaiwa, an ancestor of the king who had ruled in A.D. 1300-1329; the scepter, the ring, the jewels and decorations; the ancestral noonday torch and, last, the crowns while the choir chanted a blessing.

Lifting the king's crown from the satin cushion held by Prince David Kawanana'kōa, Chancellor Judd placed it in His Majesty's hands, saying: "Receive this crown of pure gold to adorn the high station wherein thou hast been placed." The king then raised the crown and placed it upon his own head. Accepting the second crown, he placed it upon the head of his queen, saying: "I place this crown upon your head to share the honors of my throne." Following administration of the oath of office by Chancellor Judd,



Their Majesties knelt and the Rev. Alexander Macintosh pronounced the benediction. Immediately a salvo from guns of the men-of-war in port announced the coronation completed and the choir sang *Cry Out, O Isles, with Joy*, composed by Gibson for the occasion. The royal party then repaired to the throne room to receive guests.

There had been no riot. Carson's good work, under Gibson's direction, had frustrated all such plans. As Gibson and his radiant Talula in a rich gold-brocade satin court dress paid homage the King whispered to Gibson: "I owe this day to you. I will remember that always."

Isobel Strong presents in her autobiography *This Life I've Loved* a vivid word picture of the brilliant ball that night in the throne room "magically lit with electricity . . . King Kalakaua, a strikingly fine-looking man, was resplendent in a uniform of white and gold which set off his good figure to advantage. . . . The queen, handsome, poised, but very shy. . . . Princess Liliuokalani . . . with a cordial, well-bred manner."

The McKee girls from Maui identified arriving guests for the Strong's. The beautiful Afong girls with their handsome Hawaiian mother and their "haughty mandarin father . . . in Chinese robes"; their gowns from Paris "with clever little Chinese touches." Mr. and Mrs. Samuel Parker, Anglo-Hawaiians, caused a sensation as they entered the throne room, both six feet tall, majestic in bearing. Her dress of white satin hung in straight lines from shoulder to end of long train, the front panel elaborately embroidered in seed pearls, a headdress of ostrich tips adding to her height and regal appearance. As each guest bowed low and kissed the king's hand Alice McKee whispered: "We always do. He is a real king and should be treated as such." Asked as to the

"missionary gossip" about him she replied: "Of course he drinks; so do all the other men, only they get drunk and the king keeps his head."

Mrs. Strong found most of the Hawaiian belles ravishingly beautiful: "They looked like a garden of flowers. . . . Bowing in unison while dancing the quadrille, the effect was like winds blowing over a grain field." At intervals members of the Royal Band would put down their instruments "and sing divinely." Supper was served on small tables in the banquet hall after which there was a program of *hula* dances, most of them newly composed in honor of the coronation and all eulogizing the king.

From the viewpoint of all save a handful of the king's opponents, the coronation was a great success. Visitors to the Islands confessed their surprise at finding such overwhelming evidence of happiness, peace, and contentment after having read stories elsewhere of "unrest, rebellion, and disturbances" prevailing in the kingdom. A New York reporter said that never again would his paper be tricked into publishing propaganda describing Gibson as "a wily sycophant, hated by all Hawaiians."

The *Gazette*, standing its ground, said: "The blatant coronationists have had their day . . . the consistently righteous Opposition will have theirs."

The king's opponents then staged a little drama that sent the rest of the population into gales of laughter. The coronation program listed by name the *hulas* performed at the ball. The program was printed by the *Gazette* which now published a letter by W. R. Castle charging that the *hulas* were "vile, obscene . . . outrageous, odorous . . . a first bold defiance of morality . . . taking the Islands back to the heathendom of older times." His letter was supported

by one from W. O. Smith, who said that the coronation had been "directly damaging to the property interests and the welfare of the country."

The *Gazette*, protesting that it had been deceived by "those pernicious people who perpetrated this filth boldly and in defiance of all morality," humbly admitted that it should be punished, though innocent. Forthwith, Castle swore out warrants for the editor and head printer, saying that while he hated to ask for their prosecution "the case is higher than personal friendship."

When the farcical suit came to court Mr. Castle asked that the courtroom be cleared "so that no innocent ears might hear the vile interpretations of the *hulas* which, sounding innocent in words, hold vile and bestial meanings." The newsmen, permitted to stay, licked their chops in anticipation.

The first witness was the professional stooge, Pilipo. Under questioning by Attorney Hartwell, he said the words were indeed "vile and bestial" but under cross-examination he admitted that "different people would translate the meanings differently," also that the meanings were mere allusions which "are supposed to refer to different parts of the body."

The next witness was a Hawaiian named Kapapuu, who had volunteered to testify for the prosecution, but when he got on the stand he tore into Pilipo with such gusto as to send the newsmen "into roars of merriment." Realizing that the situation was getting out of hand, the case was quickly closed, after which the judge solemnly fined the editor and the printer each eighteen dollars, saying that every effort must be made "to stop the *hula hula*, which is a vicious obscenity from the heathen past."

Ever afterward the king's opponents were to refer to the

trial as proof "of the evil that accompanied the coronation" and their historians so to record it.

## CHAPTER 15

### Gibson Scores Again

Two days after the coronation another important ceremony in Honolulu was the unveiling in Palace Square of an impressively artistic bronze-and-gold statue of Kamehameha the Great. When the statue was authorized by the Hawaiian Legislature the people of Kohala, island of Hawaii, insisted that it be erected there at his birthplace. A *kahuna kaula* (prophet) predicted that so it would be and, through an extraordinary chain of circumstances, so it was.

The ship bearing the statue to Hawaii from Italy sank in a storm off the Falkland Islands in November, 1880; being fully insured, a duplicate was ordered. Meantime, the original was salvaged from the sea and sold to a junk dealer at Port Stanley from whom the captain of a British ship bought it in hopes of selling it to the Hawaiian Government. Both the original and the duplicate reached Honolulu about the same time and, as prophesied, the original was ordered to Kohala.

The Honolulu unveiling took place February 14 and, as at the coronation, heavy rains preceded the ceremony. But as His Majesty pulled the cord parting the curtains the sky cleared and the sun shone brilliantly upon the heroic figure of "The Lonely Warrior," his right hand upraised in token of peace won for his people by valor and sustained by statesmanship. From the battery on Punchbowl boomed a



royal salute and from the Royal Hawaiian Band welled the majestic national anthem *Hawaii Pono'i* followed by mighty cheers from Hawaiians, triumphant, their national spirit revived and exalted.

An impassioned speech in Hawaiian moved the old people to ecstatic wailing. Then Gibson, comparing Kamehameha to "Egbert of England who united its seven kingdoms," said: "He was distinguished not by mere courage and ability but for his regard for the welfare of his people above all personal desire. . . . He loved peace more than war and the good of his people more than victories." Reminding that Kamehameha's last words were "Move along in my good way," Gibson cried emotionally:

"Yes, Great Chief! We will swear here—every true Hawaiian and every friend of Hawaii—to preserve forever the independence of the nation thou didst establish by thy prowess and wisdom!"

In his diary Gibson wrote: "A great hope, and an earnest anxiety, satisfied." Thereafter Hawaiians gathered daily before the statue to pray and to pledge: "We will not let your people die out, O Kamehameha!"

Later that year, May 5, the original statue was unveiled at historic Kohala in a colorful ceremony dominated by native traditions. The Russian warship *Nayrzdnik*, then in port, offered to transport the royal family and more than two hundred representatives of Hawaiian societies from Honolulu to the little seaside village of Makukona on the island of Hawaii, whence they drove to that point where "The Conquering Chieftain, rising up out of the sea, was to be forever a harbinger of fresh hope and life unto his people."

As the lovely Princess Likelike, governor of the island, pulled the unveiling cord the people wept and cheered,

some prostrated themselves devoutly. Orator of the day, Kekipi, swept them to greater heights of emotion and hundreds came forward to place flower *leis* upon the statue soon all but hidden beneath the fragrant tributes.

In Honolulu the *Gazette*, alarmed by this mounting nationalism, renewed its attacks on Gibson: "Hawaii has been fallen upon by thieves . . . it is our duty to wage unremitting warfare. . . ." Challenging that statement a foreigner wrote: "Gibson has done more good for this country than any one man . . . time will reveal it." Another: "They have tried in vain to get something on him but his constant stand has been for prohibition, morality, education, and the care of the health of the Hawaiians. . . . His only sin—he wants to preserve the monarchy."

One, "Pro Bono Publico," wrote: "Those who speak of themselves as 'Our Crowd' refuse to accept the fact that Hawaii has felt the throb of progress and has reacted to the demand for social and political freedom which is the tendency of the world today. . . . Those who formerly controlled the Government look with dismay upon one they can no longer control. . . . Since Gibson whom they tried to seduce . . . is at the helm . . . nothing is too slanderous for them to adopt. . . . The people as a whole support the present Ministry."

Still the *Gazette*, continuing its attacks, jeered at Gibson for saying the Polynesians were a great people; ridiculed his plan to publish an ancient chant, the *Kumulipo*, which he described as "an exquisite poem of creation." When he offered his property on Lanai for sale, being forced to do so because of the large amount of money he had paid out of his personal funds toward the building of Iolani Palace, the *Gazette* declared "He must have made money in politics which allows him to retire."

Then, as a magnum opus, his enemies published a pamphlet, *The Shepherd of Lanai*, purporting to be Gibson's life story with elaborations on the Mormon episode, and embellished with sentimental writings in which he referred to the people of Lanai as "my lambs." Thousands of these pamphlets were distributed throughout the United States.

Finally Gibson's enemies found an issue which promised to further their purpose. A British vessel, the *Madras*, arriving from the Orient with 400 laborers, had two cases of smallpox aboard. Gibson refused to allow it to come into port despite demands of the planters and protests from the British consul. While lying at anchor outside, additional cases of smallpox developed and one Chinese died. "Inhuman" screamed the *Gazette*. The king stood by Gibson: "We want no more smallpox." Then the *Gazette*, hoping to work up a demonstration, called for a mass meeting to demand Gibson's dismissal. Chairman was the traitor Pilipo whose talk was rabid and inflammatory. When the Hawaiian orator Kaulukou got the noisy crowd's attention "his oratory poured forth like a burning flame" as he tore into Pilipo: "Proof of Gibson's *aloha* for the people is his action on the *Madras* . . . to avert another epidemic like that which destroyed thousands. . . . He who opposes Gibson opposes you, opposes me, and our country. . . ."

"True, true," roared the crowd—and once again Gibson's enemies had failed in their attempt to dislodge him. But his difficulties were not at an end.

It became necessary to dismiss Minister Kaai, which he did reluctantly, replacing him with the always-dependable John Kapena. Minister John Bush, caught in a trap set for him by enemies of the Government, was removed and his post given to American Charles T. Gulick, nephew of the "missionary Gulicks" yet a strong partisan of the Hawaiians.

Attorney General Preston resigned under pressure from the opposition and, unable to get another capable lawyer at once, Gibson took the post temporarily while the *Gazette* screamed that he was increasing his power.

Two more resignations brought additional grief. Godfrey Rhodes, long a loyal supporter, resigned from the Board of Immigration and Archibald Cleghorn from the Board of Education. Gibson recorded: "The pressures against any capable man in Government are more than most can sustain."

The *Gazette* grew more vindictive. Calling Gibson a weak old hypocrite, a quack, a charlatan, it tried to prove that he was mad, "driven insane by disappointment." The attacks were extended to his son-in-law, Fred Hayselden, who was accused of collecting a five-dollar tax on each incoming laborer and though the charge was proven false the *Gazette* continued to refer to it as if it were true.

Harassed by a succession of colds, Gibson developed a constant chest cough. Notations in his diary indicate a fear that he might not live to accomplish his aims: "I am prepared for the worst the planters can do against me. As long as the king and the native people stand firm I can fight them. . . . But will I live long enough to secure the safety of the kingdom? My cough grows worse. I feel very debilitated, but I keep my head up and never miss a day from public work." He decided to sell the *Advertiser* to George Macfarland: "I must be relieved of the added strain of newspaper work."

There were increasing notations on "My precious Talula and her baby lambs . . . my constant joy." There were also repeated comments on the lepers for whom his emotional heart bled in anguish. Going personally to say good-by to each victim being sent to the leper settlement on Molo-



kai, he wrote: "They sear my heart. I am reminded of Swinburne's *The Leper*." In April he wrote: "A talk with Father Lenore who will go on a mission for me to find Sisters of Charity willing to work among the lepers." There were also lighter notes on gay parties at the palace. A reception honoring the officers of the man-of-war HBMS *Swiftsure*: "Attended proudly with my precious Talula on my arm. . . . There was a calm splendor to the evening which seemed designed for joy and revelry."

American newspaper correspondent David Adeë described Gibson at this period as having "white hair and beard, a fine aristocratic Roman nose . . . a mild but cold blue eye . . . distinguished-looking . . . courtierlike manners . . . voice low and soft . . . a slightly weary air . . . a cough as if from the chest. . . . He has played a prominent part upon the world's dramatic stage. A most remarkable man."

Of "the knightly Kalakaua" Adeë wrote that while his attendants wore elaborate military uniforms "the king himself usually wears the modest dress of our American presidents. . . . His dignity of deportment, unstudied courtesy, and graciousness of address sufficiently serve to designate him from the other gentlemen of the company. . . . His kingly stature and manly countenance recall to mind the traditional demeanor of the stately Hapsburg line."

As relations between the Government and the sugar planters became more strained, Gibson found it increasingly difficult to meet Government obligations. The Bishop Bank was making exorbitant demands for financing the renewal of bonds, when "good friend Mark Robinson offers \$15,000 to tide us over the pinch." Soon more was needed. Allen & Robinson, a British firm, came to the rescue with a \$40,000 bond purchase; another Britisher, Fred Wundenburg, of-

ferred help, and Gibson wrote: "Many good friends offer assistance." Then, when things seemed dark again, William G. Irwin, formerly of San Francisco, told Gibson that Claus Spreckels was planning to open a bank in Honolulu "which will be willing to assist the Government when it is in need."

Word of the proposed Spreckels bank, spreading quickly, alarmed local financial leaders already irked by Spreckels' dictatorial attitude in recent years. Wrote Gibson: "As soon as he heard about it Sam Damon called and offered financial accommodations to the Government if needed. . . . They are worried about Spreckels as well they may be."

David Adee wrote of Spreckels as "having more brains and ability than any other island businessman. . . . Middle-sized, middle-aged, portly, florid, iron-gray beard and hair, clear, cold blue eyes, emphatic manner of speaking, slight foreign accent, hearty, honest German address . . . King Kalakaua is fortunate in possessing so magnanimous an auxiliary to his dainty Hawaiian dominions. May he live long to enjoy so spirited, unselfish, and indomitable an ally."

Gibson's opinion of Spreckels was not so flattering: "He is as ruthless as he is shrewd . . . an irascible old millionaire who addresses one in a most insulting manner."

Delighted that his plans for a bank caused consternation among Honolulu businessmen, Spreckels arrived from San Francisco in fine fettle. Calling at the palace for a conference with the king and Gibson, he demanded that the king revoke the planters' charter. Gibson objected, saying it would do no good and only cause further trouble, "Whereupon he grew insulting, but I parried his assaults courteously, calmly, and smilingly, and he was gradually mollified."

Spreckels demanded dismissal of Chamberlain C. H. Judd "who always keeps the Government in hot water either through fumbling or purposefulness" but again Gibson objected saying that since the Judds had chosen to be friendly despite the pressures put upon them by their cousins, they should not be antagonized.

After a bit more sparring, Spreckels finally got down to business and offered to send the kingdom \$1,000,000 in silver and take bonds at 6 per cent interest. He suggested that the silver pieces bear the head of King Kalakaua—which pleased the king. After discussion of the new bank to be established following authorization by the Legislature, the meeting ended on a friendly note and Gibson recorded: "Thus closed the conference with an important victory." Cementing the cordial relationship, Talula's new baby, to the veteran financier's delight, was named Claus Spreckels.

After Spreckels returned to San Francisco Gibson wrote: "It is the general belief in Honolulu that the Government is now stronger than ever. But my paper is silent. It is proper for the victors to be silent and thankful and let the losers rail if they like. Our enemies give me credit for having subdued Spreckels and checkmated their plans. This is only partly true. The chief credit should go to the firmness of the king." His Majesty thought otherwise, and in recognition of Gibson's services made him a Grand Officer of the Order of Kapiolani, a decoration awarded only to those who gave distinguished service to the state.

In the offing was another triumph for the Government. Gibson was now able to announce Paul Neumann, brilliant San Francisco lawyer, as the new Attorney General. Having previously praised Neumann as a "famed legal celebrity" on his frequent visits to the Islands, the *Gazette*, stunned, had to admit he was a formidable addition to the Govern-

ment: "But he will resign as soon as he learns the true situation," it concluded confidently.

Mr. Neumann did not resign, and for many years he was to fight for the Government with consummate skill and caustic wit, a brilliant star gleaming upon a scene theretofore almost wholly devoid of that rare illumination, a sense of humor.

With their immediate difficulties seemingly at an end, the king's mood returned to gaiety with Polynesian ease. Wrote Gibson: "His Majesty is in high spirits. He enjoys the thought of *two* banks competing for his favors. As soon as money is available again he begins to expand. He touched this evening upon his ambitious dream of becoming suzerain of island states of Polynesia beyond his own archipelago. I suggested that we might devise a government for Samoa which is fighting for its existence against German aggression, and that we might assist some of the other island groups in similar danger of losing their independence, many of which have appealed to us. I suggested also that an able, earnest diplomat sent to Europe might sway interest in a Polynesian Confederation. . . . Curtis Iaukea might be a good man. His Majesty liked the suggestion. I warned him, however, against using the phrase 'Polynesian Empire.' "

At their next conference Gibson suggested that a manifesto be sent to England, France, and Germany "respecting our relations with Polynesia. . . . The king was well pleased." At the following Cabinet meeting Gibson explained his idea "which was fully endorsed by the entire Cabinet." Shortly afterward the manifesto was dispatched to the great powers of Europe. It read:

His Hawaiian Majesty's Government, speaking for the Hawaiian people . . . makes earnest appeal to the



Governments of Great and Enlightened States that they will recognize the inalienable rights of the several native communities of Polynesia to enjoy the opportunities of progress and self-government and will guarantee to them the same favorable opportunities which have made Hawaii prosperous and happy and which incite her national spirit to lift up a voice among the Nations in behalf of sister islands and groups of Polynesia.

In his diary Gibson wrote: "May kind Providence be with us in this new move. Only by protecting the freedom and independence of all Polynesia can we guarantee our own."

## CHAPTER 16

### Death Takes Illustrious Royalty

BETWEEN 1883 and 1885 death came for three greatly loved Hawaiian women of the Kamehameha Dynasty, each of whom symbolized a distinct phase of monarchical life. First to go was Princess Ruth Keelikolani, granddaughter of Kamehameha the Great, who died as she had lived, disdainful of the foreign world that had crowded in upon her. Those who saw her through alien eyes called her pagan. To the end she remained stanchly faithful to the mores of her ancestors and to the gods they and she worshiped in the Polynesian Pantheon. Hawaii would not see her like again.

Next to go was a great-granddaughter of Kamehameha I, Princess Pauahi. Unlike her cousin Ruth, she had accepted the foreign world and Christian faith of her husband, Amer-

ican Charles R. Bishop. During the fifty-three years of her life Princess Pauahi's abiding interest was in Hawaii's young people upon whom, being childless herself, she looked as her own; her great concern was their preparation for transition into a new way of life.

To that end she made them her heirs through Kamehameha schools for Hawaiian boys and girls, established and maintained from the proceeds of her estate, a vast fortune in land inherited as the last direct survivor of the Kamehameha line. Her plan for the education of young Hawaiians was called by the *Advertiser* a "most important occurrence for the country. . . ."

Soon afterward death called the third great *ali'i*, Queen Dowager Emma, widow of Kamehameha IV. Together they had established the Queen's Hospital for Hawaiians. Since the death of her husband in 1863 she had devoted her life to the hospital and to the schools sponsored by the Church of England, established in Hawaii at the request of herself and her husband. Called "the most beloved *ali'i* in the land," she died at her home in Nuuanu Valley on April 25, 1885. Tributes from the newspapers were sincere and forthright. Said the *Gazette*:

Queen Emma is dead! she who loved Hawaii and the Hawaiians so well. . . . How did it come that Emma held so supreme a place in the hearts of the people? Love begets love—and she poured it forth to them. . . . The hospital that bears her name will ever remain a memorial of her regard for the Hawaiian race. So long as one Hawaiian lives, when sick, he may go to Queen's Hospital and have all that love and skill can do for him, free of charge. . . . Emma, queen of the hearts of the people, we bring today our tribute of

*aloha* to your memory. . . . Happy are the thoughts you have left behind you. . . . The Hawaiian *ali'i* all have left behind them perpetual monuments to the love they bore their people.

Said the *Advertiser*: "She shed a luster upon her race . . . because of confidence in her, money poured into the hospital . . . which she makes her chief beneficiary. . . . Shortly before her death she remarked to a friend that Lunalilo had provided for indigent Hawaiians, Mrs. Bishop . . . for the education of the youth, and that she would care for the sick Hawaiians."

Another link with the days of the Great Kamehameha had been broken. The old Hawaiians wailed: "*Ua ohi paka'aki ia aku nui a ka po!*" (The night has taken them one by one.)

## CHAPTER 17

### Merrie Monarch of the Pacific

FOREIGNERS now revisiting Hawaii commented on the change of spirit that had come over the native Hawaiians in recent years. Fear and depression, which hung like a dark cloud over the Islands during the reign of King Lunalilo, were replaced with a spirit of gaiety and a zest for life that stemmed directly from the magnetic personality of King Kalakaua, himself the personification of joyous living. Wrote poet Charles Warren Stoddard:

"Oh what a king he was! Such a king as one reads of in nursery tales. He was all things to all men; a most compan-

ionable person. Possessed of rare refinement, he was as much at ease with a crew of 'rollicking rams' as in the throne room." Another writer called him "easy to approach and difficult to leave . . . kind to high and low; beloved by all his subjects."

To Hawaiians he was the epitome of qualities they loved best: warmhearted, merry, musical, and handsome to look upon. He was loved as well by all other races. When he traveled around the Islands the imported laborers stopped their work to cheer him as he passed; signs reading "Welcome to David, Our Beloved," greeted him everywhere. On interisland boats he always mingled with the "deck" passengers, mostly Hawaiians, asking about their needs, their children, warming their hearts with affection for him.

He was a familiar figure on the streets of Honolulu, dressed in all white—suit, gloves, hat circled with a white shell *lei*, an ivory walking stick, "every inch a king." Strolling leisurely along, he greeted everyone warmly, even those he knew to be his bitter enemies. Often he would drop in at the music store owned by his friends Augustine Dias and Manuel Nunes who, in 1878, brought from their Portuguese homeland a tiny guitar called the *braginha*, which caught the immediate fancy of Hawaiians who called it *ukelele* (later corrupted to ukulele) because of its similarity to their own *ukeke*, a small stringed instrument. Dias, a fine musician as well as craftsman, taught the king to play it and made especially decorated ukuleles for him.

Under King Kalakaua's leadership there was a brilliant renaissance of Hawaiian music. During the reign of Kamehameha V a bandmaster, captain Henri Berger, had been imported from Germany to head the Royal Hawaiian Band. Deemed an extravagance by the advisors of King Lunalilo, the band was allowed to disintegrate. It was now restored to



its former prestige by King Kalakaua who, to replace Hawaii's national anthem, "God Save the King," adopted from Britain, collaborated with Captain Berger in composing "Hawai'i Pono'i." Combining the majesty of German music and the charm of minor Hawaiian notes, its popularity was immediate and has proved as lasting as that of "Aloha Oe," composed by Princess Liliuokalani.

Turning his attention to the dance, King Kalakaua revived more than three hundred ancient *hulas* and personally created many new ones, the most popular being the *hula ku'i*, a blend of the ancient form with the grace of imported Spanish dances. It became the rage. Noting the accent imparted by the swishing skirts of the Gilbertese laborers, His Majesty invented the shredded *ti*-leaf skirt to replace the cumbersome costumes that had been used to placate those who objected to the ancient *pa'u* and bare torso.

For his personal parties, usually given at his famed boathouse *Healani*, the king trained a group of twelve dancers in the forms and esoteric significance of the ancient *hulas*, explaining their mystic meanings including the procreative. When this became known, his enemies charged that he was "reviving vile heathen chants and licentious practices of savage times."

King Kalakaua was a unique and complex character. Beneath a suave, courtly manner he was a shrewd politician and an expert strategist. Giving always the impression of pliability, he frustrated and infuriated his enemies by adroit circumvention of their plots and, in the end, having his own way. Seemingly irresponsible at times he moved, nonetheless, with unerring instinct toward any goal upon which he set his sights. Childishly extravagant and with no idea

of the value of money, his poker games—which he adored—kept him constantly in debt.

He was an avid student and probably conveyed the impression of having more profound knowledge than he actually possessed. Completely at home in the foreign world, he was equally adept in dealing with his own people who not only loved him devotedly but had great respect for his knowledge of priestly lore in which he had been instructed as a youth. An instinctive mystic, he performed ancient rituals, handed down by ancestors from century to century, with ease and understanding.

He loved sports, wit, music, and gaiety. A superb musician, he composed songs that were to live. He loved grandeur and luxury. And above all, he loved beautiful women. From all parts of the kingdom they flocked to his court, which became known throughout the world as the "Court of Bohemians" with himself as the "Merrie Monarch of the Pacific," described by one historian as "possessing all the graces and charm, the magnificence and generosity, the poetry and mysticism of the Polynesian race."

The very isolation of the Islands added to their charm. There were no fast steamers, no cable communication with the outside world, and the masts of sailing ships etched against the skyline added a touch of salty adventure. Always there were foreign warships anchored off port in "Navy Row." Their officers became a part of Island social life and there was a constant scurrying back and forth of small boats carrying the elite out to the vessels or uniformed officers ashore.

There were gay dinner parties, horseback rides into the mountains, picnics at the beaches, and spectacular balls at Iolani Palace where beautiful young women in gorgeous

gowns danced with white-clad officers and civilians under the soft lights of crystal chandeliers in the colorful throne room. From the wrist of each belle hung a *carte de Danse*, decorated with a crown resting upon a tasseled cushion, listing waltz, polka, schottische, and royal lancers danced to the gay music of Gilbert and Sullivan.

And center of all of these lively scenes was the "Merrie Monarch." A bohemian in tastes yet equally at home with artist, scientist, or scholar, King Kalakaua was a true cosmopolite, admired for his polished manners, the amazing breadth and variety of his learning, and loved because of his enchanting personality.

Knightly orders created by him and bestowed in impressive ceremonies were eagerly sought by foreigners. The Order of Kamehameha had been established by Kamehameha V; those created by Kalakaua were the Order of Kalakaua; Order of the Crown of Hawaii; Order of the Star of Hawaii; Order of Oceania (suggested by Gibson and designed by Isobel Strong); and the Literary Order of Kapiolani, a jeweled decoration including a miniature of the Queen Consort, conferred upon writers for special services to the kingdom. Emblems of these orders were designed and personally wrought by the artistic young European, German-born Henry Frederick Wichman, appointed by His Majesty, purveyor to the Royal Household.

The Hawaiian court, king, and the Hawaiian people, now attracting world attention, were written about in many countries. An article in the *Republic* (New York) described King Kalakaua as "tall, proud, stately, majestic of manner like the Moorish gentleman." Of attempts by some foreigners to subvert the Government the writer said: "As long as Kalakaua remains king the arch will stand unshaken." He added: "Every good American will join

me in cordial wishes that . . . the Hawaiian flag will always wave over the Islands under the protection of the United States."

Isobel Strong described some of those belonging to the intimate "Palace Set": Captain and Mrs. Jack Haley of London, he with his "Piccadilly walk, swanky in manner, dress, magnificent looking in his uniform of an equerry attending the king." Mrs. Haley, who looked like Lily Langtry, wore glove-fitting costumes, was clever, beautiful, sang naughty songs, "and told gossip deliciously!" L. Montgomery Mather, wealthy Philadelphia bachelor who wrote waggish odes; witty, delightful Paul Neumann and his charming Spanish wife; Jake Brown (married to a striking-looking Hawaiian girl) who wrote satirical verses about local people and sang them to his own piano accompaniment.

"My contribution," said Isobel, "was imitations—a very dangerous gift! My best efforts were taking off the Missionaries . . . [which] made me many enemies."

From the island of Maui came the beautiful and talented McKee girls and the gay, sporting Cornwells. A favorite of everyone was Britisher George Macfarland, "elegant and talented." Among the young part-Hawaiians were the Afong girls, Charles Gordon Hopkins, Jr., beautiful Phoebe Dowsett, daughter of Englishman James I. Dowsett and his Hawaiian wife; Irish-Hawaiian Jesse Lane, a striking beauty who was gossiped about by the Missionaries as "one of the king's mistresses."

Gathered at the palace for late supper parties these talented and blithesome young people demonstrated their various gifts for His Majesty who, seated in a large red velvet chair, laughed heartily at each one's performance then, picking up his ukulele would close the evening's



gaiety by singing Hawaiian songs, old and new. Although only champagne frappé and sandwiches were served at these parties they were whispered about in gossipy Honolulu as "orgies." Replied Isobel: "In all our gaiety there was always shown a deep respect for the king. None of us called him anything but Your Majesty and never did I see anyone treat him with familiarity."

With particular delight Isobel recorded the reconciliation of King Kalakaua and Queen Dowager Emma between whom tensions had existed since her defeat in the contest for the throne—tensions deliberately kept alive by those who preferred to have the Hawaiians divided. It took place, a few years before her death, aboard the *USS Adams*. A bunting-draped chair, under a canopy of American and Hawaiian flags, had been placed on deck for the king. When he came aboard, Queen Emma was standing with a group of officers near the improvised throne. Bowing low before her, King Kalakaua offered his hand which she was about to kiss when, with a quick, dexterous movement, he gave her a little whirl which seated her upon the throne. He then bowed low before her.

"We felt like applauding," wrote Mrs. Strong.

Few of the court's activities were published in the *Gazette* but the *Advertiser* carried many stories of parties given in honor of distinguished visitors and among those most regally entertained was His Royal Highness Prince Oscar of Sweden in June, 1884. At a ball in Iolani Palace "the throne room was ablaze with lights and the long mirrors reflected the rich and elegant toilettes of the ladies and the brilliant uniforms of the men . . . looking very handsome in orders and decorations . . ." At a *luau* given by Queen Dowager Emma at her Waikiki home in his honor ". . . royal *kahilis* were waved continuously

over the heads of the honored guests . . . and following the feast a program of *hula* dancing . . . continued until twilight fell over the land." Next, a formal ball in his honor at the home of Premier Gibson, with dancing in the European manner.

Entertaining done by wealthy Hawaiians of this period was lavish, the parties often lasting for several days. One notable host was Anglo-Hawaiian John A. Cummins whose home on Windward Oahu was the scene of many a fabulous party. Guests were brought from Honolulu in his private steamship *Waimanalo* and entertained en voyage by musicians and dancers. Feasts were served in an open pavilion upon tables brilliant with flowers; entertainment by "Dandy Loana" and his *hula* girls. Later, by the light of torches and gay Chinese lanterns, ballroom dancing was continued far into the night. Grass houses, scattered over the grounds of the large estate, served as sleeping quarters for the guests who were welcome to stay as long as they chose.

The *Gazette*, noting dourly that these parties were accompanied by "the gross and lascivious *hula*," was equally disapproving of "the round dance." The editor urged that "the best people" refuse to associate socially with members of the court—advice that seemed superfluous since those referred to received invitations only on state occasions.

However, King Kalakaua's interests and activities were not confined to the gay and frivolous. He sought to find, record, and preserve the ancient history and culture of his race as perpetuated in chants and *meles*. Proscribed by the Missionaries when they controlled the government, many had already been lost through death of those to whose memories they had been committed by learned ancestors.

Fearing to arouse Missionary antagonism, the king set up his organization on the island of Molokai where, in the late 1870s, he assembled a group of *kahuna kuauhau* (historians). With him to the rendezvous each one brought his sacred ball of knotted *olona* cord, the *kaula hipu'u*, a mnemonic device, prototype of the rosary, used by primitive people in all parts of the world in lieu of graphic records for preserving and disseminating knowledge. (Spanish spelling of the Inca device is *quipu*.)

There, in isolation, the venerable *kahunas* unreeled for transcription by able Hawaiian scholars proficient in the ancient vocabulary the *Kumulipo*, Polynesian Chant of Creation—a chant so ancient that its origin is lost in the mists of time. Preserved and handed down, generation to generation, by the memory method employed by mankind from time immemorial, it has been called one of the world's great documents. Despite the criticism of his opponents, the king preserved for the world the Polynesian concept of Genesis through creation of the gods, the earth, all life, an account of the Deluge and, in addition, genealogies through eight hundred generations of Hawaiian rulers to the High Chief Umi a Liloa (A.D. 1450–1480) from whom King Kalakaua claimed direct descent.

Among the distinguished scholars visiting Hawaii at this time was Adolph Bastian, a noted German scientist who, learning of the ancient chant, asked permission to translate it into German. Delighted with its beauty, scientific accuracy, and its profound wisdom as well as its historical importance, Bastian declared it to be "The greatest human document known to mankind." His *Die heilige Sage der Polynesier* was published in 1881 at Leipzig.

Gibson, elated by this scholarly achievement of the Hawaiians, entered in his diary: "Future generations will

thank His Majesty for recording this, one of the great epic poems of all time. Scholars will recognize its value even if the king's enemies do not."

He was correct in assuming they would not, for when the king began later to assemble the *kahunas* for monthly meetings at Iolani Palace a great roar of opposition arose from those who refused to believe that anything of value could come out of Polynesia. The *Kumulipo*, they declared, "is a vile, obscene, and irreligious poem." Even the usually judicious Professor W. D. Alexander joined in the attack, declaring that the gatherings at the palace were intended "partly to revive heathenism, partly to pander to vice, and indirectly as a political machine." The Hawaiians, amazed by the excesses of their attacks, remarked: "They ridicule *kahunas* and say they have no power—but they must be very afraid of them indeed!"

When spies reported that the old men were seen carrying balls of *olona* twine to the palace meetings the king's enemies, lacking knowledge of their historical use, gave their imaginations free play. The balls, they declared, were utilized in "sex orgies," each man rolling one to the lady of his choice with whom he would spend the night. They called it "The Ball of Twine Society," elaborating at great length on what they imagined to be "The heathen rites over a ball of twine." This absurdity, observed one of the better-educated foreigners, "is a true revelation of the accusers' own thinking."

In his diary Gibson recorded their "vulgar charge. . . . Someday the intellectual world will understand the value of this ancient wisdom being revealed by the old men. Perhaps even some of the Missionary descendants may lose their blind obsession of prejudice against all things Hawaiian sufficiently to appreciate their greatness."



King Kalakaua's delving into the esoteric lore of ancient days led eventually to his revival of a society which had its origin in the mists of Polynesian antiquity. It was called *Ka Hale Nau-a* (The Temple of Wisdom) and was dedicated to research into the mysteries of mankind's origin and progress. Following in exact detail its ancient pattern, *hulas* formed an important part of each ceremony as did also "The Eternal Virgin" symbolizing "the presence of an immortal power."

No foreigners were permitted membership in *Ka Hale Nau-a*, but spies, employed by the king's enemies, reported that the rites were "absurd imitations of Masonry"; that they "held heathen rites over a ball of twine" and "worshipped an obscene goddess." From these bits of information the evil-minded among them developed stories of "debaucheries and vile doings at the palace" which they repeated to all newcomers and broadcast over the United States through their propaganda system.

King Kalakaua's opponents, resentful of the fact that they had lost control over him, then invented another slanderous tale, circulated by those same men who had loudly praised his lineage at the time they put him on the throne. Declaring his blood was not even Hawaiian, they said he was the son of a Negro barber, quoting as authority a Hawaiian named Kawainui. The story was told to every visitor to the Islands and given wide circulation in the United States. Isobel Strong quoted the McKee girls as calling it "another missionary yarn."

The facts: John Blossom, the Negro referred to, arrived in Hawaii the first time about 1850. Kalakaua was then a boy of fourteen living on the island of Hawaii. Blossom, born of an English father and a Jamaican Negro mother, stayed only a few days but returned later with his Jamaican

wife, son John, and daughter Maraea. Being a person of no importance, few were familiar with the date of his arrival thereby making it easy to concoct stories about him. For the next twenty-five years he lived in the Islands, working first as a bootblack in Honolulu and later as a barber on Maui. In the late 1870s he left Hawaii, taking his wife and daughter but leaving behind his son John. Departing for Chile, he was never heard of again. The paternity story was invented after his departure.

Ignoring this latest attack upon him, the king went his serene, unperturbed way, never indicating his awareness by word or deed. A few years later Kawainui, repentant, went to Iolani Palace and, in the presence of Lot Kamehameha Lane, knelt before the king and confessed that he had accepted a bribe for allowing the nefarious story to be published in the Hawaiian-language newspaper which bore his name as editor but was subsidized and run by the king's enemies.

"I would have killed him," said Lane, but the king, placing his hand upon Kawainui's head, said gently: "I understand. I'm glad you came."

Following an especially ugly attack upon the king by the *Gazette* charging him with lasciviousness and excessive drinking, His Majesty was invited to address the Temperance League. Calmly facing his opponents who hoped to lead him into a trap, he made an inspiring talk on the greatness of the Roman Empire, closing with the story of Cornelia who referred to her children as her jewels. With a sweeping gesture embracing the entire audience, he said: "These are *my* jewels."

There was a spontaneous outburst of applause. That night Gibson wrote in his diary: "His Majesty always does something adroit."

Thus the reign of the "Merrie Monarch" was an admixture of gaiety and sorrow, for beneath the sound of music and laughter was the ever-present fear that a group of foreigners, few in number but with formidable wealth behind them, would succeed in their determination to "rid these islands of this absurd monarchy." Therefore there was much rejoicing among the Hawaiians when the new American Minister, George Merrill, assured them:

"The American people have a great *aloha* for Hawaii. They rejoice in its happiness and success and want the people of this kingdom to shape their own destiny. . . . As for the royal family, I wish for it continued success and uninterrupted prosperity."

## CHAPTER 18

### "The Kingdom of the Cousins"

THE growing power in Hawaii of San Francisco financier Claus Spreckels greatly alarmed the sugar planters; his intimacy with the king added to their fear and dislike of him. In 1884 some of them marketed their sugar independently in the United States and, finding they could do so successfully, all were now eager to break with him. When Britisher Cecil Brown introduced a bill in the Legislature authorizing a new bank charter expected to favor the proposed Spreckels bank, they seized upon this as an excuse for an all-out fight which they hoped might drive their erstwhile partner from the islands.

Denouncing the charter plan as "a creation of the devil," their newspapers cried: "For the first time black monopoly

raises its ugly head in our fair Islands" and, to the amazement of a public accustomed for years to their own monopolistic control, the planters set about to arouse public opinion against the bank charter.

Taking over the *Bulletin*, a struggling little newspaper in financial difficulties, they named as editor Lorrin A. Thurston, a rising young lawyer of keen mind and sharp tongue who was often in their disfavor because of his independent spirit. On their side now, Thurston rushed bravely into the fray and the *Bulletin* bristled editorially:

"This is black monopoly . . . monopoly is galling . . . the Islands must be *free* . . . we will not be ground under the heel of monopolistic chains . . . but shall fight to the death to protect the rights of the people."

Solemnly the *Bulletin* pledged itself to destruction of this serpent. If the bank was permitted, it warned, "the native Hawaiian will be ground under the heel of monopoly and destroyed." An "anti-monopoly" meeting was urged and full-page advertisements declared the fight was that of "the spirit of 1776." In large black type the *Bulletin* roared: THE BANK CHARTER SHALL NOT BECOME A LAW!

Gibson, in the *Advertiser*, endeavoring to stop the hysteria, reminded that Spreckels had invested much money in Hawaii, had made barren lands profitable, and had dealt generously with the planters when marketing their crops in the United States. Deploping the sensational posters, the threats, demands for "marching men around the palace walls," he declared the purpose of the furor was to keep out other capital so that "Our Crowd" might continue their monopolistic control.

The "anti-monopoly" meeting was held and was a great success from the viewpoint of those who staged it. The



hall was packed to overflow; claques strategically placed shouted, applauded, and hooted on signals from leaders; speakers all declared their sole object was to "save the poor Hawaiians from ruin." When the resolution "condemning the attempt of certain capitalists to get passage of legislation that would give them power to issue paper money" was offered, it passed with a resounding whoop. The uproar proved effective. The Legislature voted for indefinite postponement of the Charter Bill.

Legislative turmoil continued, however. Gibson was accused of having sold some government lands to Hawaiians without putting them up at public auction; his defenders cited cases where the accusers had sold land to themselves in like manner when they controlled the Government. It was pointed out that Gibson's efforts were never in his own behalf but always for Hawaiians.

The ever-explosive labor problem aroused vituperative debate. The planters accused Gibson of stalling their efforts to bring in Japanese and a letter to the *Advertiser* congratulated him on his stand. Another letter, by Z. Y. Squires, warned in rhyme:

Oh rulers beware or there may come a day  
When the Mongols shall stand in defiant array  
To sneer at your power, and jeer at your laws  
And you'll find yourselves like a cat without claws . . .  
Then rise, Legislators, throttle this leach whilst you can—  
If force is required . . . we are yours to a man!

When objections were made to an appropriation for the Hawaiian Genealogical Board, Gibson said: "In Europe and America the patient labor of learned men is being spent upon just such stories of information. . . . The findings of the Board indicate the antiquity of the Poly-

nesians and the probable habitation of a large continent in the Pacific. . . . Darwin's theory of the formation of coral islands seems to add substance to the theory." He advised the researchers not to go too far on that theory, however, "for it would accord an antiquity to the Polynesians greater than has ever been accorded man. . . . Move slowly, stick to facts, and your efforts will someday win the thanks of ethnologists the world over."

Wearied by the constant harassments of his opponents, and in ill health, Gibson asked to be relieved of his editorial duties at the *Advertiser* so Claus Spreckels sent a new editor from San Francisco. The paper was now to change from "its gentlemanly tone with complete command of temper" to one brashly raucous, bristling with barbs of satire under the guidance of Irishman Daniel O'Connell. Brilliant, witty, bold, O'Connell could make his pen a whiplash when occasion demanded and could match or better the opposition in strategy and vituperation.

Coining the phrase "The Kingdom of the Cousins" from the recently organized "Cousins' Society" composed of descendants of the Calvinist missionaries, he wondered what their newspapers would do without the expression Augean stables: "Everyone who disagrees with them is an Augean stable and they scream wildly for the people to clean him out!" In reply to their threats against the monarchy he said: "They would have you believe that . . . the king is allowed on sufferance, that the Hawaiian people are tolerated by their mercy, and unless matters are shaped to their views they will send the king, Cabinet, and native people to rusticate on the coast. . . . Pretty loud talk for guests of a nation to indulge in."

As to their attacks on Gibson: "The whole basis of their cry 'Get rid of Gibson' is that 'he doesn't belong to our

set.' . . . They have never been able to make their charges against him stick. . . . When they can do that they will be able to put him out and not before."

Gibson was now called before a special investigation committee and grilled on many points of official conduct. Speaking calmly, he admitted appointing Captain Alfred Tripp of the *Julia* as a "Special Commissioner for Polynesia. . . . It seemed an intelligent way to promote friendly relations with the islands of the South Pacific. He was commissioned also to gather specimens for a national museum." Further questioning about "this national museum" brought out the fact that Gibson, out of his own private funds, was paying Charles Buckland to locate and buy historic national treasures which he planned to place in a "Polynesian national museum which I hope to endow."

When they charged him with "sheer extravagance" for bringing a group of Sisters of Charity to work among the lepers he replied: "Their fine work has already justified the expense," and a Hawaiian added that the lepers had been treated in a humane manner only since Gibson became president of the Board of Health.

When the ordeal was over O'Connell wrote: "We admire the pluck that sustained him. . . ." Said attorney Paul Neumann: "He successfully punctured their pompous piosity."

Angered at their inability to depose Gibson at home his enemies now flooded America with copies of the scurrilous *Shepherd of Lanai*. The editor of San Francisco *Alta* wrote O'Connell: "I found it on my desk one morning. . . . Gibson is a gentleman and a scholar—which is more than can be said of his defamers. . . . His fine intellect is an oasis in the Hawaiian desert of ignorance."

Said O'Connell: "They fight endlessly to dislodge Gib-

son but he leaves them no weak point in which to get him because affairs of government are well managed." He then published a witty bit of satire called *A Parable* describing an official order given by "The Master of the Soreheads" that "those who refuse to give up Gibson and follow us . . . will be ruled forever from entering the Kingdom of the Cousins."

"I wish I had known this Garden of Eden before it was despoiled," wrote O'Connell.

## CHAPTER 19

### Work and Worry Tax Gibson's Health

WALTER MURRAY GIBSON was the sole issue in the 1886 legislative campaign. Opponents of the Government, concentrating their attacks upon him, strove to convince Hawaiians that he was their enemy. Diligently but in vain the attackers searched for evidence of graft in his administration. Discovering that Fred Hayselden, his son-in-law, had sold seven turkeys to the Government from their Lanai ranch for \$3.50 each, the *Bulletin* lashed out at "The Turkey Cabinet" but voters merely laughed at the flimsy tirade. When Gibson begged that newspapers stop their petty bickering and work for the welfare of the kingdom, the *Gazette* retorted "we need no instructions from Mr. Gibson." The campaign of invective continued.

Gibson's sixty-second birthday, January 16, 1886, was made the occasion of an impressive demonstration of loyalty by his many friends, Hawaiian and foreign. Early that morning five young girls of eminent *haole* families: Eva



Neumann, Edith Turton, Nellie Brown, Virginia Gilliland, and Clara Herbert, arrived with arms full of flowers to decorate his spacious old-fashioned home Hale Aniani which, with the assistance of Talula, was quickly transformed into "a bower of beauty."

Long before the appointed hour for the afternoon reception Hawaiians began to arrive with gifts and flowers. Members of the diplomatic corps came in full force as did all the foreign colony except the small group dedicated to Gibson's destruction. Government officials, members of the royal family—all came in a significant demonstration of loyalty.

No one was indifferent to Gibson. He was either hated, admired, or loved. To Hawaiians he was "Kipilona, our friend." Repeatedly in his diary is found: "I must not fail their childlike trust in me. I must protect them no matter what the cost to myself." Despite his arduous official duties he made frequent interisland tours giving lectures on health, sanitation, morality, and assisting in solving their personal problems. For this he was accused by William Armstrong of "coddling the Hawaiians to an unwholesome extent."

Entries in his diary during this period were impersonal, objective. Successes and failures were recorded without comment. He was not well; a chest cough worsened: "My lung trouble grows worse . . . spent a bad night . . . feverish and restless," were frequent notations. That he believed his enemies would be able to destroy him eventually, perhaps even physically, was evident: "Their attacks grow fiercer. I am prepared for a blow." Accepting the situation with his customary fatalism, his only concern: "The time grows short and I have yet so much to do. I must not fail Hawaii. . . . There is no time to lose."

A close friend wrote of him at this period: "It is as though he stands apart from the pawns he moves; plays the game without emotion."

Of all the problems Gibson faced, none burned so deeply into his soul as did that of the lepers. His diary constantly reflected personal anguish. When new victims were ordered to Kalaupapa he was always on the wharf to say good-by, to offer comfort to their families who begged that their loved ones be not sent away. "It tears my heart out, but I must look to the welfare of the whole race." His frequent visits to the settlement prompted the *Advertiser* to note that no other prime minister had ever gone there. Father Damien wrote of his visits and of their long talks together.

Nevertheless, leprosy was chosen by Gibson's enemies as a base from which to attack him in stories sent to the American press, playing up the leper problem so sensationally that American papers warned against visiting the Hawaiian Islands. Prompt and angry reaction from Honolulu merchants brought an end to that campaign. "But . . ." said the *Advertiser*, "the Americans cannot know that these things are a tissue of lies . . . and the lies are being taken for history." Attempts were made to get the Mormons to join in the attack against Gibson and when they refused the *Gazette* said: "They are just too polite to show how they feel. . . ."

On February 1 Gibson's diary notes: "The opposition have not less than \$30,000 for the campaign and are spending it judiciously. . . . Thank God William Irwin will help us with a generous donation. What would we do without him! The king says he does not want a single man in office who opposes me. He knows that, alone, the opposition could lead him into a trap, but not so long as I

am by his side. He said, 'You have raised the spirit of my people by your devotion. Other prime ministers have worked against me even after taking the oath of allegiance. Only you are trustworthy.' His Majesty is unmoved by malicious gossip."

Effective support was given the Government campaign by a small Hawaiian paper, *Elele* (Herald) owned by Gibson and edited for him by Dan Lyons, a sharp-tongued, warmhearted Irishman from Nebraska, who made its pages ring with indignation against "those who would destroy the Hawaiian Monarchy and defile the Hawaiian people."

As the campaign drew to a close the attacks of the *Bulletin* grew more bitter, often absurd. Among other things they charged that the Government had taken 13,000 cases of gin from the Customs House to distribute to voters on election day. Proof of its untruth, presented by the *Advertiser*, was the fact that there was not one instance of drunkenness on election day nor one arrest.

A bold and fearless defender of the Hawaiian cause on the island of Maui was Henry Dickenson, an Australian schoolteacher; a man of such integrity that the planters hesitated to discipline him. But for the most part planter control over the outer islands was complete and ruthless. Candidates uncertain of election on Oahu could win easily under their protection, hence W. R. Castle, Lorrin A. Thurston, and Sanford B. Dole of Honolulu all ran, and were elected to the House of Representatives, from the outside islands. The only foreigners to win in Honolulu were Cecil Brown and Fred Hayselden. All other seats were taken by Hawaiians.

On the island of Hawaii the traitorous Pilipo was defeated by the Hawaiians, "who formed a solid flank around the ballot box and guarded it until the votes were counted"

to insure against such tricks as had elected him in the past.

The election was an almost complete victory for the Government. The *Gazette* said they had won by "coercion, gin, and downright bribery. Reform of the government is imperative." Retorted the *Advertiser*: "What they mean by 'reform' is depriving the Hawaiians of the vote."

Gibson noted in his diary: "Scores of people called; Mrs. D., dear Eva, Clara, Maggie (I have gotten a beautiful fan for her birthday March 17), and many others. All very happy over results. His Majesty was in a buoyant mood. We talked of many things and he let his heart out about Polynesia. If it is true that ambition is the infirmity of noble minds, then His Majesty should be noble. He dreams of heading all Polynesia. He has spoken of it often, now he wants to do something about it." Gibson saw the need for caution: "We must not do unwise things because of impulses of the heart (that is my failing). First we must be sure of our strength."

A few months previously, when it became apparent that Germany was preparing to annex the Samoan Islands, Gibson had sent a second proclamation to the great world powers asking them to guarantee Samoan independence. Following this, he commissioned the Hon. H. A. P. Carter as Envoy Extraordinary to the European courts to discuss the matter with proper officials. Reporting first to Secretary of State Bayard in Washington, Carter notified Gibson that while the secretary was opposed to imperialism, he did not want to involve the United States in the matter.

Carter then proceeded to Europe but by the time he arrived partition of the Pacific Islands between the great powers had already begun. Spain had taken the Caroline Islands, England and Germany had partitioned New Guinea; the French were getting ready to take the New



Hebrides, and Germany had already taken possession of the Marshall Islands. Carter reported to Gibson that he was frigidly received by Count Bismarck in Germany, but though his mission had failed, Hawaii's effort on behalf of the other Polynesian islands had increased her prestige.

Gibson then asked him to communicate with the great powers again and request that they abstain from further annexations of Pacific islands until the Hawaiian Government could carry out its plan for training them in self-government. Saying that he planned to send a commissioner soon to all the free islands, he asked Carter to assure the European governments that "Hawaii has no material aims, merely the desire to assist those members of the Polynesian race not so happily placed as are the Hawaiians."

When Carter's European assignment became known in Honolulu the opposition jeered loudly, calling the plan "Gibson's Calabash Empire." And when word came that Germany was preparing to take Samoa the *Gazette* sneered: "And where does that leave the Calabash Kingdom?"

Problems on the home front were now pressing and Gibson, setting aside those of the Pacific, tackled domestic affairs; first, labor, yearly growing more complex.

The Chinese were now regarded as dangerous by the planters for a variety of reasons. They had grown increasingly independent and many, leaving the plantations, had gone into business where their acquisitive, shrewd minds turned meager savings into large fortunes so rapidly as to menace even long-established firms. There were now more than 20,000 of them in the Islands and they were completely loyal to the king. In coalition with the 45,000 Hawaiians they held an advantage over the 35,000 other

foreigners. The situation was considered sufficiently alarming by the planters to call for a change in the labor policy.

Having been told that Japanese were hard workers, amenable, and being very clannish, would not unite with other races, the planters now demanded that they be imported. Gibson objected, saying that after Japan had developed marine power "she will try to take these islands and make a colony of them." However, after finding it impossible to bring in East Indians he gave consent and the first Japanese arrived in February, 1885.

Their disinclination to fraternize with other races was regarded as a virtue by the planters so the following June 1,000 more were brought in and the planters prepared to import them in great numbers. So acute was labor shortage that Premier Gibson had to fight constantly to prevent new immigrants from being taken directly to the plantations without examination for infectious diseases.

Reaction on the American West Coast to this wholesale importation of Japanese was emphatic disapproval, and several newspapers condemned "this plan for Asiatizing the Hawaiian Islands." The *Gazette* and *Bulletin* immediately sent out stories placing the blame on Gibson, and the *Advertiser* republished these dispatches to the San Francisco papers alongside the planters' Honolulu demands for more Japanese.

A few days before the opening of the Legislature Gibson's diary notes: "A hemorrhage last night. I am weary, weary." On the following night he had a long talk with the king and asked to be relieved of his position as Prime Minister, retaining only the right to name his successor. The king replied: "I want you in office for five more years, then I will let you go. No one has done so much for the kingdom as you have; you alone are completely loyal to

me. If I should outlive you I intend to see that you are buried in the Royal Mausoleum along with Wyllie [former Scot Premier]. No other foreigners have loved the kingdom as you have."

They discussed a plan proposed by American Benjamin F. Dillingham for colonization of lands between Honolulu and Pearl Harbor with citizen settlers from the British Isles, after he had built a railway to serve that area. Gibson's diary: "The king was enthusiastic, saying that such a plan would aid in halting the plantation octopus which is strangling the kingdom. But we agreed that the planters would probably break Dillingham financially before he could perfect his plan. Although married into the 'clique,' he is not in sympathy with them and constantly meets with their opposition. His plan, if carried out, might prevent the kingdom from becoming a land of millionaires and a mass of slaves as it will if the planters have their way."

The Legislature opened on April 30 with customary splendor but the friendly atmosphere was quickly dissipated by the king's opponents who demanded reduction of the royal family allotments, of household expenses, of the King's Guard, and also that no more Hawaiian youths be sent abroad for education. (Six had been sent to England, four to America.)

An appropriation for the Board of Genealogy brought angry opposition and much ridicule of "this absurd attempt to reconstruct the early history of the Hawaiian race." Replied Gibson: "Its findings are important to the scientific world." He presented vouchers for every penny spent from previous appropriations and wrote in his diary: "Thank God for men of intelligence like William Irwin who gladly supplements our needs for scientific research. Such men enrich the world of learning."

Next to arouse anger of the opposition was a bill to subsidize the Spreckels Oceanic Steamship Company such as that for the Pacific Mail Company. Although the Spreckels bill for establishing a national bank had been defeated in the previous legislature he and Irwin had later opened a small savings and deposit bank and again the *Gazette* warned: "Monopoly, grim of visage, again threatens. . . . The Islands must never submit to such an evil."

The question of Pearl Harbor came up again. H. A. P. Carter wrote to his brother-in-law, Frank Judd, that he was "trying to persuade Washington to accept the use of Pearl Harbor" and someone brought a copy of the letter to the king. The *Advertiser* ran an article saying that the efforts of certain foreigners to give Pearl Harbor to the United States was purely a money-making scheme by those who had bought up the surrounding lands: "We do not think the United States Government would willingly become a plastic tool in the hands of land speculators. . . . America is not at fault . . . she has been just in all dealings with the kingdom."

As the European menace increased in the Pacific, a definite plan formed in Gibson's mind: he would commission an envoy extraordinary to all the people of the Pacific to propose a Polynesian federation, headed by Hawaii, with a joint foreign policy for all. For this purpose he asked for, and received from the Legislature, an appropriation of \$30,000. He then asked Minister Carter to inform the United States, England, and Germany that he was going to send a special commissioner to Samoa "to attempt a conciliation of internal difficulties between two warring chiefs." Carter replied that the American Government approved if it could be done without arousing the animosity of European powers.

Gibson's opponents objected strenuously to the appro-



priation for the mission and when he asked for \$100,000 more to purchase the British ship *Explorer* for the expedition their anger knew no bounds. Attacks upon him now became so intense that he suggested to the king formation of a new cabinet with Australian Robert Crighton as Premier, himself as Minister of Interior. This was done.

Crighton's first move was to ask for legislation licensing the sale of opium because of the large quantities being smuggled into the Islands. Gibson, who had previously voted against all opium bills, agreed to this one but objected to the provision permitting a private award of the license which he said should be sold at public auction; he insisted also that sale of opium to natives be prohibited. When these changes were not made, he voted against the bill which was passed by a small majority after much lobbying by wealthy Chinese.

During the closing days of the Legislature Gibson wrote in his diary of growing difficulties with Spreckels: "The king wishes Macfarland to secure a loan in London so as to free himself from the dictatorial old man." Premier Crighton, "a Spreckels man," resigned from the Cabinet because of the proposed London loan, and Spreckels, after a stormy session with the king, left the Islands in a huff.

The king then asked Gibson to form another cabinet with himself as Prime Minister. He did so but wrote in his diary: "I am doing this against my better judgment. I am weary, weary. My cough grows worse. But I must not give up. We dare not permit a break." And again, that oft-repeated: "Treasury very low."

Gibson's amazing ability to keep the kingdom afloat financially despite King Kalakaua's extravagance and his enemies' efforts to break the treasury in order to discredit

him was an incredible achievement. We find the notation in his diary: "I, personally, borrowed \$8,000 from Sam Damon today and deposited it in the treasury. We must hold tight for the present." Then again, as often in the past: "Allen & Robinson came to our rescue. They will take \$160,000 in government bonds. That will tide us over for the present." Sometimes a pleased note: "Mr. Irwin offers to finance a project to collect Hawaiian chants and myths, so I have engaged Captain D. God bless Irwin. This work arouses my greatest enthusiasm."

Gibson was saddened by the death of "Father" Lorenzo Lyons, beloved American Protestant missionary who had devoted his life to care of Hawaiians: "A truly godly man with the soul of a saint, the mind of a poet. He requested that he be wrapped in the Hawaiian flag for burial, such was his loyalty. There is no one to fill his place. God rest his soul." Gibson himself was apparently taking instructions in Catholicism at this time for there are many references to "lessons with Father Hermann."

There were notations of happy moments as when "Gracious Isobel Strong came by; I gain inspiration from her." Or, "Dear Eva [Neumann] called. Her presence is always soothing." And increasingly, brief mention of one of the Sisters of Charity identified only as "M" who, apparently, was the personification of his ideal, "a gentle, lovely spirit of womanhood reminiscent of the Blessed Virgin." Frequently: "I stopped by to see M today and came away with my heart singing. My precious child, so beautiful, so good; how she vivifies my life!" And once: "My heart is heavy. I yearn for something she cannot give."

When all seemed going well, another storm broke. The king's enemies learned that on September 24 the Privy Council had granted a charter to the *Hale Nau-a*, with

membership limited to Hawaiians. "Designed for the propagation of idolatry and sorcery and to revive heathendom and pander to vice," they thundered.

His Majesty's reply: "It is an ancient mystic order; so ancient as to date from the time when 'the morning stars sang together,' and from which all mystic orders that exist have borrowed their signs, passwords, and rituals," merely incited the *Bulletin* and *Gazette* to more vicious attacks which continued day in and day out.

The Legislature had appropriated \$10,000 for celebration of the king's fiftieth birthday and, despite the year's bitter wrangling, 1886 was to close on a note of happiness, at least for the Hawaiians. A week-long holiday was declared, opening with a reception at Iolani Palace where the people, rich and poor, poured in an unbroken line through the throne room to be received by Their Majesties. All brought gifts, some costly, others of only sentimental value. Many brought money, that of the Chinese wrapped in ceremonial red paper. Recorded Gibson:

Reception a grand triumph for His Majesty. No Central Union Church people came, but his own people in full force as well as the diplomatic corps and other foreigners. It was a great demonstration of their faith in him. The children of the Kawaiahao Mission School wept bitterly because they were not allowed to come; those of all other schools did so, bearing flowers or small gifts. The Mormon children of Laie wore ribbons marked, "Birthday of Our Beloved David." The Chinese formed the most spectacular note. The king has made large donations to the leper hospital and Kapiolani Home out of the cash donations received.

The fire department staged a great torchlight parade and the days were filled with regatta races, sports, and horse racing. A pageant depicting highlights of Hawaiian history was described as the most interesting affair of the week. On the nineteenth there was a grand ball at Iolani Palace and the next night a *luau* in the palace grounds restricted to Hawaiians and those foreigners known to be their loyal friends. Following the feast was a spectacular *hula* program. Dancers from the outer islands had been in training for the past year, and on Oahu the king himself had trained special groups. There were *hulas* ancient and new, delicately subtle and richly dramatic and gay. Enchanted, the audience recalled each group repeatedly and the dances continued until dawn.

The *Gazette* seethed with rage. "The *hula*," cried its editor (who was not among those present), "is essentially an immoral dance . . . cannot claim a poetic idea. It is nothing but unmitigated filth . . . vicious . . . decent people shrink from it. . . ." He demanded a public meeting "to denounce this . . . ignoble relic of barbarism" and declared "The Government is rotten to the core . . . the country has started headlong to ruin and the devil."

The Hawaiians, accustomed to such attacks, went gaily on with their celebration, and festivities were climaxed with a formal state dinner at the palace for which Isobel Strong painted place cards, each one illustrative of the guest it served. That for Gibson, designated "The Genius of Hawaii," depicted the Islands as a beautiful woman surrounded by figures representing learning, the arts, world politics, a Catholic Sister of Charity, and the people with arms upraised in gratitude. Apart from this group, at the side, seated upon a small island, staff in hand, was "The Shepherd of Lanai" gazing out over the scene.



When the festival was over, Gibson addressed the Hawaiians in their Kaumakapili Church on significance of the celebration as symbolic of nationalism: "But nationalism must be strengthened by the living of clean lives, the rearing of healthy children. . . . You must retain the best of the past but prepare yourselves for a changing future. . . . You must advance—but do so as Polynesians. . . . His Majesty was destined to become a successful, beneficent, and respected power in Polynesia."

The last notation in Gibson's diary for 1886 reads: "I have sent presents to Father Damien and the lepers on Molokai, also to all those in the hospital in Kakaako—and of course to my beloved M. How she warms my heart! I am amazed at the number of gifts arriving for me: a handsome carriage rug from Maggie Walker, gifts from dear Eva, Clara, the Bickertons, and many others. I am puzzled by the arrival of two handsome vases from the Chinese merchant Aki."

And in conclusion: "A bad night last night; feverish, uncomfortable. I pray to live long enough to see my plans completed."

## CHAPTER 20

### Gibson's Enemies Resort to Violence

ON December 26, 1886, John R. Bush, commissioned Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary, sailed for Samoa accompanied by Anglo-Hawaiian Henry Poor as Secretary of the Legation, and artist Joseph Strong (husband

of Isobel) commissioned to make sketches and collect specimens for the Hawaiian National Museum, established by Gibson.

In reply to H. A. P. Carter's warning from Washington that Hawaii must be careful not to antagonize the Germans, Gibson asked him to assure the great powers that His Hawaiian Majesty sought only to bring about peace and good government by means of "the friendly humane voice of Hawaii." To British Consul J. H. Wodehouse, who called to say his government asked him "to discourage the Hawaiian Government from interfering in affairs of the Navigator's Islands," Gibson repeated the instructions given to the Legation that "they must attempt nothing which would bring Hawaii or Samoa into conflict with the great powers . . . they must counsel peace; not join in any factional fights, nor give Germany an excuse for overt intervention."

The king was delighted with this beginning of what he hoped would result in a unified Polynesia. Gibson, "elated in spirit but weary of body," began to make plans for retirement.

On New Year's Day, 1887, he took his favorite grandchild, Rachel (Talula's sixth child), to call on the Catholic Sisters ("M loved my little pet"). He told them of his plan for building a small chapel to St. Lucy, in honor of his mother, near the leper hospital which he hoped to expand eventually into a small general hospital. "Then I shall settle down and live out my life among those I love." Promised their enthusiastic support, he wrote in his diary: "How noble they are and how much I love them."

Gibson's birthday, January 16, was made the occasion of an even greater demonstration of affection than that of the previous year. More than a thousand people called at Hale

Aniani during the day, and music and ballroom dancing continued until after midnight.

A few days later, after completing purchase of the *Explorer*, he wrote: "Now my Polynesian movement will not be checked. I take charge as Secretary of Navy, an empty title, but it will push our Polynesian confederation. Mr. Neumann spoke warmly of my plan to place the boys from the Reformatory School on the training ship. Hawaii now has the prospects of a commanding Polynesian state and Kalakaua shall be a real king! All seems to be going well, but I cannot control an agitation of alternating hopes and fears. It overmasters me as it has often in the past when danger threatens. Perhaps it may come from increased trouble of my old ailment due to continual rains. The great volcanic explosion affects the weather; heavy atmosphere, rain, thunder, lightning. Very unusual."

There was also another cause for anxiety. On January 1 the opium license had been granted by the Government to a wealthy Chinese, Chun Lung, for \$80,000. Now it was rumored that another Chinese, Aki, had previously paid \$71,000 to the king for the same license. After a conference with His Majesty, Gibson wrote in his diary: "I am satisfied that the rumor is false, but I think that Junius Kaae *has* taken some money from Aki and thus compromises the king's name. If this is so, I fear His Majesty will try to protect him."

Junius Kaae, Registrar of Conveyances, was married to one of the most beautiful women in the kingdom, Jessie Lane, member of the famed Irish-Hawaiian family of twelve children, all of whom were ardent devotees of the royal family. Jessie was almost six feet tall, beautifully formed, black hair, fair skin, luminous brown eyes; she sang divinely, wore her clothes with an air, and had keen Irish wit. That

the king was devoted to her was common knowledge. Gibson's fear that he would protect Kaae for Jessie's sake was well founded.

Troubles accumulated. On February 2 Princess Likelike, youngest sister of the king and mother of the little Princess Kaiulani, died in her home, Ainahou, at Waikiki. Knowing that Hawaiians never counted costs at royal funerals, Gibson had authorization blanks printed, and published notice that nothing was to be purchased without them, nor total expenditures to run over \$10,000. But Honolulu merchants delivered things without official orders and the expenses rocketed to almost \$25,000. The *Gazette*, owned by those same merchants, screamed about "this latest extravagance," placing the blame on Gibson.

Next came a rumor from Samoa that Envoy Bush had offered, without authority, a protectorate to King Malietoa. In reply to Gibson's query, Bush reported that on learning Germany was furnishing arms to "vice-king Tamassee" in the hope of bringing about a civil war which would open the way for Germany to take over, he had merely assured King Malietoa that Hawaii would stand by him.

On arrival in Samoa, Bush had presented the king with a handsome military uniform and the Grand Cross of the Royal Order of the Star of Polynesia, saying, "King Kalakaua desires me to express the hope that you may succeed in maintaining stability and perfect autonomy, and should you desire the friendly advice and encouragement of His Majesty King Kalakaua, it will be freely given."

Said King Malietoa, "We are related by blood and other ties . . . I shall be happy to see you further privately." The "private" meetings led to signing a convention for a political confederation of Hawaii and Samoa. On learning of this, Gibson wrote: "Will the great powers let us confirm



this act? If so, my plan for a Polynesian Confederation will have fairly commenced."

Quickly it became evident that the great powers would not permit it. When Gibson learned they were planning a conference in Washington to discuss the matter, he wrote to Carter: "The friendly and humane voice of Hawaii should penetrate their councils to convince . . . the representatives of Great and Enlightened nations . . . that an interesting and homogeneous race desires peace and good government and can obtain it in a way satisfying to the patriotism of the people by non-intervention of the great powers."

Count Bismarck of Germany made his stand immediately clear. Writing of "Hawaii's insolent intrigues in Samoa," he threatened: "Unless King Kalakaua desists . . . we should shoot his legs in two, despite his American protection." He threatened further that if Americans created trouble for Germany in Samoa, Germany would do the same for them in Hawaii.

Instead of standing loyally by their Government in this crisis, the king's opponents were jubilant at this turn of affairs and the *Gazette* said "The fate of Samoa will be settled by the big powers . . . it is absurd for Hawaii to think she can do anything about it."

On April 20 Queen Kapiolani and Princess Liliuokalani, accompanied by Governor Dominis, Colonel Iaukea, and two servants, sailed on the *Australia* for Queen Victoria's Golden Jubilee in London. The *Gazette* fumed that the trip was "an outrage . . . an absolute robbery of public funds" but the Hawaiians, proud of the honor paid them, gave the royal party a loving and flowery bon voyage. Wrote Gibson: "The queen, worried about conditions, begged that I write her confidentially while she was away. Captain

Dickerson [master of the *Australia*] commended me on my Polynesian policy, agreeing that the strong and intelligent should not take advantage of the weak and ignorant."

Immediately after their departure Gibson had another talk with the king about "the opium money which is still being gossiped about. His Majesty dismissed it lightly, saying that Kaae did take some money from Aki but it was accompanied by a letter saying it was sent in gratitude for past favors. He said Kaae had shown him the letter, so there was nothing to worry about. 'It was just a gift from Aki.' "

Added Gibson: "But I am worried. Chinese do not give gifts without purpose . . . and Hawaiians have so little responsibility in money affairs. I am convinced that Aki believed he would be given the license even if there was no written contract. In the hands of our enemies this might become serious." As eventually it did.

In their campaign against the king his enemies seized upon an ordinance permitting "persons skilled in the practice of medicine and of good character to practice native medicine." For years past the Hawaiians had begged that their own *kahuna lapaau* (medical doctors), forbidden by "missionary" law to practice, be allowed to administer the simple herbal remedies known to their forefathers. Gibson, who had an extensive knowledge of herbal medicine gained from life with American Indians in his youth, believed that many lives could be saved if native doctors were permitted to administer them. In reply to criticisms, he pointed out that the practice of *anaana* (praying to death) and two other forms of *kahunaism* were expressly forbidden by the act, "which is intended only to restore the ancient knowledge of herbs and bring medical services within reach of the poorer Hawaiians." Nevertheless, his enemies continued

to charge him with "trying to bring back *kahunaism* and black magic," and their historians were so to record it.

One morning the king sent for Gibson to come to the palace at once. There, the king handed him a letter, saying: "The more I learn of that man Carter, the less I like him." The letter was from a friend in Washington who wrote that Carter had persuaded the United States Government to include the cession of Pearl Harbor in the reciprocity treaty then being drawn. Said His Majesty, "I will oppose cession under all circumstances. It would mean the end of the monarchy."

No mention of the proposal was made by the *Gazette*, but the *Advertiser* published a report from a Washington paper saying it was not desired by Congress but "was suggested by the sugar ring in Hawaii. . . . A simple proposition to establish a naval station at Pearl Harbor would not get a dozen votes in the Senate. . . . The Louisiana planters oppose the treaty altogether . . . and believe they can defeat it. . . . President Arthur is willing to grant the treaty without Pearl Harbor."

B. F. Dillingham, who had been negotiating with James A. Campbell for the purchase of a large section of land west of Honolulu, now departed for London to get a loan with which to buy the land and build a railway through it, so as to develop a homesteading plan with citizens from the British Isles and the United States. His project, opposed by the planters, was endorsed enthusiastically by Gibson: "This is the vision of a true patriot . . . immigration of unlimited servile labor would be the death knell of the native Hawaiian race." Replied the planters: "We want laborers, not a peasant proprietary or yeoman class of citizens."

Other foreigners praised Dillingham's farsighted plan,

and the *Elele* editorialized: "The planters have no regard for the real people of the soil, those whose forefathers shed their blood that their children might inherit inalienable rights. . . ."

Gibson's diary notes that William Irwin, majority stockholder in the *Advertiser*, had decided to sell his interest: "We cannot permit the paper to go into unfriendly hands." A group of Chinese offered to buy it for \$20,000 so the paper might continue friendly to the Government but Gibson said to the king: "We shall allow them to buy some but not all of the stock. I will pay for what I can afford and will borrow the rest." And a few days later: "We have bought the *Advertiser* and I have engaged Mr. Horace Wright to assist me in preparing editorials." Immediately the "clique" threatened to boycott any business firm advertising in it.

Plans were now complete for launching the *Kaimiloa* (Hawaiian for its former name *Explorer*). The navy flag, designed by Isobel Strong, was a gold crown upon a yellow shield on white background, with tabu stick and two *kahilis*. The ship's captain and two other officers were *haoles*, the crew Hawaiian youths from the Reform School. Following the beautiful, dramatic launching there was a celebration on shipboard that, lasting throughout the night, ended with men and officers in a drunken stupor. Gibson wrote angrily in his diary: "Those who gave them the liquor are the ones who should be punished. Deliberate ruin by our enemies."

On May 6 he wrote: "Ready to send the *Kaimiloa* off to sea but am very anxious about her. I shall send Webb [his private secretary] along; am worried by reports about Bush." And on May 18: "Departure of the *Kaimiloa* this morning. Relief. But still I am concerned. Lay awake all night. The



king agrees to appoint Henry Poor Chargé d'Affaires in Samoa, replacing Bush."

Gibson's worries did not end with departure of the *Kaimiloa*. Suddenly, without previous evidence of a plot, there began to arrive at his office impassioned love letters from a woman known alternately as Mrs. Howard and Mrs. St. Clair. She had come to the Islands a few years earlier as a saleswoman for art calendars which Gibson had bought from her on three occasions. At her invitation, he had gone to her home a few times; she had never been invited to his.

When the first letter arrived, pleading with him not to desert her, he recognized it as a trap set by his enemies. He ignored the letter. Others followed, all written in the same tenor, speaking of their love, asking why he had turned against her. Realizing the serious possibilities, he sent his son-in-law, Hayselden, to call on her one afternoon unannounced. She was in conference with Canadian V. V. Ashford. They appeared greatly embarrassed by Hayselden's visit.

Gibson then engaged a detective to watch her house, and received reports that Ashford called often, going straight from her home to the law office of the "clique's" attorneys. Their newspapers ran sly comments on the "affair," insinuating that Gibson had cruelly rejected the poor widow. Aware that a breach-of-promise suit could be pending, Gibson retained attorney Neumann. His diary carries notations on the calls of "many true friends . . . dear little Maggie Walker called, also Mrs. D[amon], a godly woman; the Neumann girls; faithful old Dan Lyons; the Sisters of Charity and many, many others," to all of whom it appeared a frame-up.

The letters from Mrs. Howard continued: "The torment of that woman, a miserable schemer; a cowardly plot

prompted by my enemies. She is in daily consultation with Ashford so I have asked to talk with him, pretending I want to discuss Canadian affairs. Will try to get at the bottom of this."

May 21: "Served with breach-of-promise suit. Have proof now of who is behind it. She is being well paid. My friends are more sympathetic than ever."

The *Gazette* carried headline stories about the suit and intensified attacks against Gibson, the king, the Government. It published a purported "confession" by the Chinese, Aki, saying he paid an opium bribe to the king personally. The "confession" was notarized in the office of the "clique's" attorneys. Gibson, having in his possession proof that Aki had been given a large sum of money for signing the "confession" (which he could not read), now called a cabinet meeting to discuss a suit against the *Gazette*. After much debate the ministers decided against an action at law "because the Supreme Court, in the hands of our enemies, always decides against the Government cases regardless of merit." However, a personal letter from the king was dispatched to the *Gazette* offering to discuss the matter in the presence of those who had prepared the charges. His letter was ignored.

Wrote Gibson: "The battle is unceasing. I am ill, and weary, weary."

The *Gazette's* campaign increased in fury. It demanded "a mass meeting to discuss the rotten, filthy, corrupt condition of the Government which . . . is the meanest and wickedest Government in God's creation."

Attacks were now made openly upon the king, and those who, thirteen years before, had manipulated politics to elect him now spoke piously of his having "gained the throne by means of trickery." The *Gazette*, endeavoring to lash the

people to fury, spoke ominously of "the damaging effect of unwhipped rascality," called for "vigorous and united action . . . a complete change in the Government system." Calling Gibson "Old Nosebig," the paper screamed: "How long are we to be insulted by this human pariah?"

Daily the charges grew more frenzied and so devastating were some of them that many good people, formerly loyal to the Government, began to waver.

The *Advertiser*, ignoring the vicious campaign, devoted its columns to matters of state. On May 9 it announced the successful negotiation by the Government of a loan in London. The immigration policy was discussed: "A state can never be built by contract labor . . . only individuals are enriched by it." It warned: "We fail to see any evidence of assimilation on the part of the Japanese . . . nationality is so ingrained in their mental and moral tissue that the idea of denationalizing them . . . may well be abandoned . . . [they will] keep up their racial ways forever. . . . Let all who are interested in the preservation of Hawaiian nationality . . . take care that it . . . is not obliterated by an advancing wave of barbarism."

The *Advertiser* republished reports from American newspapers on the journey of the queen and princess royal. In Washington, a formal dinner was given in their honor by President and Mrs. Cleveland. The banquet table, set for thirty-four, was described as a thing of beauty, centered with an imitation lake upon which floated two ships made of red-and-white carnations and representing Hawaii and the United States. Mrs. Cleveland, for the occasion, wore her wedding gown of white satin trimmed with ostrich feathers; the queen, white satin, with gold-embroidered front panel. Princess Liliuokalani was "costumed in trailing black velvet."

While in Washington they received a cable from Queen Victoria inviting them to be her guests during their stay in London; word came also of the arrival in London of Queen Kapiolani's nephew, Prince David Kawanānakoā, to attend King's College.

Next, the royal party were warmly welcomed in Boston, where they were honored at a breakfast given by Mayor and Mrs. O'Brien and a formal reception by Governor and Mrs. Ames. The *Boston Globe* described Princess Liliuokalani as "a magnificent-looking woman with all the stately graciousness of movement and manner that we imagine as belonging to royalty . . . intelligent, talented . . . English flawless . . . speaks in a soft rich tone pleasant to hear."

Meanwhile at home the *Gazette* continued attacks upon the Government declaring that "an outraged people . . . demand a mass meeting to protect our rights." No exaggeration seemed too absurd for their purposes as they strove to arouse mob action.

Regarding the *Gazette* attacks, the *Advertiser* recalled that the fathers of those now denouncing the natives so bitterly had been welcomed to the Islands by the Hawaiians, "then many and strong. . . . But now that these same people have grown wealthy . . . they do not show the same generosity." Further, that the law of "majority rule" under which the Hawaiians now controlled the Legislature was set up by those same foreigners who now found themselves "less than 500 out of a total voting population of more than 10,000."

On June 10 Gibson wrote in his diary: "The tempest seems to be rushing to climax. By instructions of the king I have ordered the recall of Bush from Samoa and the return of the *Kaimiloa*. Henry Poor will be left in charge of affairs; Webb will remain to assist Poor. Had I been in



good health perhaps I might have prevented some of these disasters but my poor body cannot keep up with mind or spirit. I am weary, languid, listless, oh, so weary."

June 26: "Increased rumors that an armed league is being formed to oust the Government. Our enemies have succeeded in working the people into a panic."

June 27: "Assurances of a widespread and dangerous organization to subvert the Government."

June 28: "Meeting of Ministers at 1 A.M. Resigned our offices. Hope our resignations will quiet the public feeling. The king much alarmed."

The Hawaiian League, organized by the king's enemies, included in its membership most of the foreign businessmen and though the majority were men of conscience and integrity, under the *Gazette* lashing they had been whipped into mob madness. Led by that small band of rabid "anti-natives" who saw nothing good in anything Hawaiian, they were joined by bandwagon riders who enjoyed the excitement of a fight. Total membership was said to be about 400 and the ruling officers were called "The Committee of Thirteen." Responsive to the *Gazette* demands for a mass meeting, they assembled at the armory on June 30, joined by about 2,000 sight-seers who came out of curiosity or in anticipation of excitement, many of these being laborers from the plantations. There were few Hawaiians.

Surrounding the building, standing guard, were the newly organized "Honolulu Rifles," the League's militia, each carrying a rifle and seventy-five rounds of ammunition. The air was charged with belligerence. Inside the building the uproar was temporarily silenced by the first speaker Lorrin A. Thurston who, resplendent in a uniform of the "Rifles," made a dramatic, bellicose speech demanding the overthrow of the Government. Other speakers followed, each

more inflammatory than the last. The crowd screamed and cried for heads to fall.

Paul Isenburg, German sugar planter from the island of Kauai, made his way to the platform and, begging for quiet, pleaded for moderation, saying he would approve a new constitution if passed by the Legislature. The crowd hissed, screamed, and tried to boo him down but he persisted: "I will not be a party to pushing through a new constitution in a hurry." He was drowned out by angry roars of "Sit down!"

William H. Rice, also of Kauai, spoke, saying he approved of a change of government "but it must not be brought about by the shedding of blood." He, too, was shouted down by the mob one of whom yelled: "This is not a meeting to kill the natives. We are after the king."

Then Colonel V. V. Ashford, commanding officer of the "Rifles," took the platform. Shouting that "Isenburg does not express the feelings of the Rifles," he cried, "If we have to fight, by the name of heaven, we will!" As he began speaking the "Rifles" marched ostentatiously into the building and around and around the hall, while the mob, cheering vociferously, grew more violent.

In the midst of this furor Charles R. Bishop arrived with a message from the king, which he asked permission to read: "Reposing confidence in the loyalty and sound judgment of my people, I will accept a new cabinet of your choice." Then, saying he represented no clique but wanted only that which was best for both foreigners and natives, Bishop begged the crowd to accept the king's offer, name a new cabinet of their own choosing, and restore the peace of the community. With their own officials in control, he said, there would be no necessity for tampering with the Constitution which was a good one. His calm, moderate

speech was loudly booed and the mob screamed: "Shut up! Sit down!"

The uproarious convention then appointed thirteen men to deliver a resolution to the king containing specific demands, plus a threat that failure to reply within twenty-four hours would result in another mass meeting and the people would take matters into their own hands. Beginning with the assertion that the Government was entirely corrupt, the resolution demanded changes in the Constitution; dismissal of Gibson from all offices held by him; return of the \$71,000 taken from Aki, dismissal of Kaae, and a pledge that the king would never again interfere with elections or the Legislature. No mention was made of the Government loan, obtained in London, which everyone knew was the major reason for the leaders' determination to oust the present Government.

The Committee of Thirteen called on King Kalakaua and he acceded to their demands, excepting only the charge that he had taken money from Aki. That he flatly denied and offered proof. But they refused to discuss the matter. He pointed out that Gibson and all other cabinet members had already resigned, but his enemies would not be diverted from their plan. A few days later a new constitution, drawn by the Committee and never submitted to the people, was handed to the king and he signed it.

On June 30, day of the mass meeting, Gibson wrote in his diary: "Threats of violence. I sent Talula and the children to the beach house, then went down to the convent to quiet their fears. Loyal friends bring rumors of an armed mob, purpose to hang me. Colonel Ashford says I will be shot down if I leave my home. An anxious night. Faithful old Dan Lyons stays with me."

Later that day the *Gazette* headlined: "The old gray fraud and sonny-in-law arrested!"

Isobel Strong wrote her version of that fateful day. Leaving her home early in the morning to call on Gibson about some art work she was doing for the palace, she was amazed to find the town "strangely quiet." There were no lei women in sight; no strolling singers. In front of Gibson's house stood two soldiers with crossed rifles. They ordered her to halt: "Gibson is under arrest, no one is allowed to see him." With a saucy "Pooh to you!" she ducked under their rifles and went into the house.

She found Gibson pacing up and down in great agitation. He was amazed to see her, said no one was allowed in, his telephone wires cut. They quickly worked out a plan. Although she knew no Hawaiian, he drilled some native words into her mind and told her to go quickly to the king and repeat them. "Rifle" guards at the palace tried to stop her but again she walked boldly by them and up to the entrance where another group tried to block her way. Walking haughtily by them, she went straight to the king's study, where she found him surrounded by members of the Committee of Thirteen.

Going directly to the king, she laid her portfolio of drawings before him and calmly asked if they were all right. She knew he sensed something was intended as he looked them over carefully, then said a few changes were necessary. "Like this?" she asked, and wrote Gibson's message on one of the drawings. He looked at it closely, then replied, "Not quite." Erasing her words, he handed back the drawings and said, "I am quite busy and cannot be interrupted just now. But you have done well. I will never forget it."

Smiling sweetly at the men surrounding him, she left the



room—without knowing the meaning of the words she had written.

Talula kept a record so that her children might know the true story of that tragic day: She and the children were at the beach house, guarded by the faithful coachman Kahaulelio, when a group of "Rifles" burst in upon them and demanded her husband, who had left for town only a short while before to join her father. Throwing a lasso around Talula's neck, one of the men threatened to "drag her all the way to town" if she did not tell; others ransacked the house, tearing it to pieces. Finally convinced that Hayselden was not there, they departed.

Early next morning Kahaulelio drove into town, returning quickly to report that Hayselden and Gibson had been taken to a warehouse to be hanged. He and Talula drove hurriedly to town.

On that July 1 Gibson wrote in his diary: "Fred returned this morning. Whilst we were talking, about 10 A.M., Colonel Ashford entered and ordered us peremptorily to go with him. A detachment of Rifles in the yard. Marched on foot to the Pacific Navigation Company warehouse. Evidence of purpose to hang us. Saved by foreign Representatives. Talula arrived, pushed her way through the guard—the brave child. Wodehouse ordered the Committee of Thirteen to release us. We are marched back to the house. Soon after arrested on charges of embezzlement, marched to police station, then allowed to return home and remain here."

Talula's record shows that she arrived at the warehouse to find a large and boisterous mob, and an official of the League screaming, "Hang them; hang them!" She saw her husband and father standing by a yardarm, ropes around their necks. Pushing her way through the crowd, she was

near them when British Consul Wodehouse came rushing up, rapping his cane angrily on the ground. Striding directly to the League official in command, he pointed to a British gunboat anchored at the foot of Fort Street and said angrily: "You harm one hair of this British subject's head and that gunboat will riddle Fort Street from the water front to the mountains. Take the ropes off of those men."

Awed by the consul's fury, the mob quieted down. The ropes were removed from the necks of Gibson and Britisher Hayselden. They were then returned to Gibson's home under guard.

Isobel Strong wrote that a few days later the king sent for her. Finding him in his study alone, she seated herself on a footstool beside him. Without speaking, he handed her a small parcel. Opening it she found a morocco box containing the Royal Order of Oceania and a scroll creating her a Lady Companion of the Royal Order of the Star of Oceania. After thanking him, she asked: "Why is the Missionary Party making so much trouble for Your Majesty?" He replied, "It is not me personally, what they want is my country. . . . It has been a steady fight ever since I came to the throne. . . ." I was appalled. "Take the Islands away from you? Surely they couldn't do that!" I said. "Not while I live," he replied.

To condone their arrests of Gibson and Hayselden on the fraudulent charges of embezzlement (which everyone knew to be false), the *Gazette* now explained that "the two chief criminals were arrested to protect them from an infuriated populace, both native and foreigner. . . . The whole proceeding has been dignified in the extreme."

To prevent the cases coming to court, Gibson was ordered to leave the Islands at once. And forever afterward historians for the Committee of Thirteen were to record:

"Gibson was arrested for embezzlement but allowed to escape to California." The charges against Hayselden were dropped "for lack of evidence."

On the night of July 11 Gibson noted in his diary: "M came. Until I saw her I felt a lonely old man. She satisfies my yearnings even though I long for something she cannot give. A strong and constant love binds me to her and although I know that hers is the affection of a daughter—nothing more—she completely satisfies my heart. My pure and noble child. She of all women has awakened a deep and burning longing in my heart. She had wept for me; it tore my soul to see her lovely face marked with sorrow. Not to have her as completely mine leaves my basket unfilled."

On the following day he wrote: "All of the dear Sisters came before breakfast this morning with gifts of a prayer book, a comforter, and assurances of faithful affection. Fred, Talula, and the precious children were with me. Fanny [Bickerton], Edith [Turton]; messages and gifts from dear Eva and Anita; Clara, dozens of others sent messages and gifts. Affectionate words from all. Mr. Neumann arrived at 12:15 P.M. and loyal William Irwin sent his personal carriage. In company with Mr. Neumann, I drove to the wharf and got aboard the *J. D. Spreckels*, welcomed by Captain Friis."

When Neumann arrived, Gibson was ready, in frock coat and high silk hat which had distinguished him on the streets of Honolulu for the past eighteen years. His carriage was erect, but his walk, for the first time, faltering. His eyes were deep-sunken and filled with sadness. In turn, he held each member of his family in affectionate embrace. All wept copiously. Only he, sustained by his ever-present sense of fatalism, did not weep.

The last entry in his Honolulu diary: "When we reached the dock a waiting messenger handed me an envelope. After Mr. Neumann's departure I opened, read it: 'Ruth 1, 16-17.' It was signed M. I cannot see to write. . . ."

And later: "The moorings have been cast and the barque, with sails set, speeds on her way. Farewell to my beloved Talula, my little Rachel, to all my darlings. And farewell to my precious M. Farewell also to a dream, an ideal, unsuited perhaps to the world of today."

## CHAPTER 21

### The "Reformers" Come to Power

INAUGURATION of the new regime brought many changes, not the least being a realignment of Honolulu newspapers. The *Gazette*, owned by the Reformers, as the king's opponents called themselves, now became the Government mouthpiece instead of its foe. The *Advertiser* was later bought by the Reformers but for the time being continued as the voice of Hawaiians. The *Bulletin* passed eventually into the hands of scholarly Daniel Logan, a Canadian who had lived in the Islands since 1844. Conducted at first as a moderate middle-of-the-road paper, it gradually became strongly pro-Hawaiian.

The *Elele*, owned by Gibson, was sold to F. J. Testa, a Portuguese-Hawaiian who was to lead a gallant fight for his people through the pages of the *Elele* and a newly organized paper, the *Independent*.

News reporting in each paper reflected the thinking of its owners.



The *Gazette*, jubilant over the recent victory, demanded dismissal and punishment of all members of the former government: "The new Cabinet has Augean stables to clean up!" it cried. Rejoicing that with Gibson out of the way they could now bring in unlimited Japanese laborers, it prophesied "a forward surge of business" such as followed opening of lands to fee simple ownership after the *Mahele* in 1849. The loan in London was promptly cancelled. The Hawaiians, above all others, said the editor, should rejoice at Gibson's downfall and the subsequent privileges given them by the new "liberal Constitution."

A major change in what they called the "liberal Constitution" was the election of Nobles, formerly appointed by the king. Membership in the Assembly also was changed, the number of Nobles being increased to twenty-four and the number of House members *decreased* from forty to twenty-four. The trickery upon the Hawaiian people involved in these changes, so loudly praised by the Reform press as bestowing great privileges upon them, was revealed in the appended qualifications.

A candidate for the House of Nobles must possess unencumbered property worth \$3,000 or an annual income of \$600. The *same* requirements applied to those who *voted* for him! Candidates for the House of Representatives must possess unencumbered property of \$500 or have an income of \$250 per annum "derived from some lawful employment"; they had to be able to read, write, and "understand accounts." No financial restraints were placed upon voters for House candidates but all must swear allegiance to the new Constitution—but *not* to the king. To eliminate any possible danger of Hawaiian control, the franchise was extended to all aliens of European or American descent who had resided in Hawaii for three years and they were per-

mitted to vote without becoming naturalized or forfeiting allegiance to their own countries. Asiastics were not given the franchise, thus disqualifying the Chinese who were known to be wholly pro-Hawaiian.

As an extra precaution against the possible election of "undesirable" candidates who might be able to overcome all of these hurdles, Article 63 provided: "The property or income qualifications of Representatives, Nobles, and Electors of Nobles, may be *increased* by law and a property or income qualification of Electors of Representatives *may be created*. . . ." By these neatly contrived rules, complete control of the Government by the "Reformers" seemed assured.

After praising the "privileges" given to Hawaiians by allowing them to vote for Nobles, the *Gazette* frankly admitted that few of them could meet the property qualifications therefor, with those twenty-four seats guaranteed to the Reformers, plus the votes of Cabinet members, control of the Legislature would be theirs even should the Hawaiians win a majority in the House of Representatives.

The "reform" Constitution provided further that the king could not dismiss his Cabinet except with the approval of the Legislature, and his every act must be approved by the Cabinet. He was permitted to veto, but could be overridden by a two-thirds vote of the Legislature. And as a final insult to Hawaiians, stricken out were the last words of the sentence closing every previous Constitution: "The King is Sovereign of all the People *and the Kingdom is His*."

Said the *Gazette*: "The changes are immensely important . . . and wholly irrevocable. . . ." The *Advertiser*, shocked by this bold defiance of Hawaiian rights, said "Surely the native Hawaiians have some rights in their

own country." Cried the *Elele*: "Ho! ye people of the land. Look to your king! Let us stand up straight and oppose this treason. As these people came to this land, let them depart hence, for their treachery is now exposed to the blaze of the sun."

The *Bulletin* doubted that votes of aliens under the "reform" Constitution would be legal, and scores of letters in agreement poured in. Rejecting the *Gazette* demand that names of the writers be published, the editor said: "There was never a period . . . when respectable citizens felt less free to express their thoughts than at present. If a man dare utter an opinion adverse to the extreme notions . . . he is at once marked as an 'enemy of reform.' . . . What we are doing is allowing the steam to escape from the boiler."

The *Bulletin* published an article from the San Francisco *Chronicle* describing the "Bayonet Revolution" as simply "a game of grab . . . by an oligarchy more domineering than Kalakaua ever was. . . . Then the press was free . . . now it is muzzled under the 'reform' party and one who looks for facts in Honolulu journals will not find them."

The Committee of Thirteen selected the new Cabinet: Prime Minister, Britisher Godfrey Brown; Finance, Britisher William L. Green; Interior, Lorrin A. Thurson, and Attorney General Canadian Clarence Ashford. No criticisms were made of the men individually but the *Bulletin* published a letter saying the real danger to the country lay "in the Committee of Thirteen whose membership is a secret."

While these events were taking place in their homeland, Queen Kapiolani and her party were being welcomed royally in London where the press praised "the stately queen . . . and the Princess Royal who has a manner of

ease, grace, and elegance." At their every appearance they were "cheered vigorously."

On returning home after but two months' absence they found the kingdom completely changed, their people beaten down by apprehension. On the night of their arrival, hundreds of Hawaiians went to Iolani Palace to report on the tragic events and "to weep and to pray." Princess Liliuokalani was reported as saying that had she been at home she would not have allowed her brother, the king, to "sign a constitution at the point of bayonets."

Prior to the "bayonet revolution," Gibson had ordered the *Kaimiloa* home from Samoa. The Reformers now recalled the entire mission and in August all of its members returned save Bush, who had chosen to stay with King Maleitoa. The *Advertiser* published a statement by artist Joseph Strong telling of Germany's efforts to gain control of Samoa. American and British residents, he said, wanted an autonomy established with Hawaii but did not want Bush in charge because of his erratic behavior. They did, however, approve the wise diplomacy of Henry Poor who had averted a battle between the two Samoan factions: "Thus it will be seen that the Hawaiian Mission to Samoa, scorned as an expensive folly, was not a complete loss."

A few weeks later came word that Germany had taken possession of Samoa.

Next move of the Reformers was to recall all Hawaiian boys sent by Gibson to be educated in foreign lands. One of them, Robert Wilcox, in a military school in Italy, had married the daughter of Baron Lorenzo Sobrero, described by a Turin newspaper as "One of Italy's most beautiful flowers."

The first election under the new Constitution was to be



held in September and the Reformers ruled that no one would be permitted to run on their ticket except those authorized to do so. To give the appearance of having native support they tried in vain to persuade several eminent Hawaiians to run on their ticket. All refused, and the *Gazette* expressed hope that the few who did join them would not turn out to be "designing natives." Also rejecting their plea to join them was Charles R. Bishop, widower of Princess Pauahi, beloved of all Hawaiians.

The native Hawaiian platform called for "True independence . . . foreigners must forswear all allegiance to their own countries before voting in ours . . . and all immigration of labor must be stopped." Their ticket was composed entirely of natives with the exception of American-born Patrick O'Sullivan who had lived in Hawaii for eleven years and was married to a Hawaiian. During the campaign, O'Sullivan's superb oratory and keen Irish wit were to highlight a contest marked by bitter personalities and acrimonious debate and his ringing speeches were to put hope and courage into Hawaiian hearts.

On election day the Reformers brought in from the plantations more than five thousand Portuguese, many of whom could neither read nor write; by means of marked ballots they were voted "straight Reform." Lined up also was the entire foreign business colony. Quietly, sadly, the Hawaiians watched this parade of alien voters, and knew they were already defeated. Said the Rev. Joseph Poepoe: "The word Reform has just one meaning—drive all Hawaiians from the soil of their birth."

To the surprise of no one, the Reformers carried the entire Legislature, Nobles and Representatives, with the exception of one member of the House from the island of Hawaii.

Cried the *Gazette*: "The people have spoken in no uncertain terms for reform and integrity! . . . We can well afford to laugh at the defunct oligarchy just swept away . . . the Reformers will now drive their own team."

King Kalakaua's address opening the Legislature reflected the extent of their victory when he said: "I take great pleasure in informing you that the Treaty of Reciprocity with the United States of America has been extended for another seven years . . . with the addition of a clause granting to national vessels of the United States the exclusive privilege of entering Pearl Harbor and establishing there a coaling and repair station."

Up to this point the Reformers had won an easy victory, but their troubles were now to burgeon swiftly as one group after another made demands in return for their support. The Portuguese, pointing to Reformer boasts that they had "blotted out the Hawaiians with Portuguese votes," asked for official recognition. The "Mechanics Union," composed of men from England, Europe, and America, complained that none but members of the "clique" were allowed at "the government teat." Contracts for government work, they said, were no longer auctioned but awarded privately to members of "Our Crowd."

Then came a spate of letters to the *Bulletin* asking why the Reformers refused to discuss "the opium scandal" and the *Gazette* was urging that "the matter be dropped and forgotten." Wrote *Fiat Lux*: "The opium bribe scandal was understood to be the incentive for the late revolution . . . the king offers to settle the matter . . . why is nothing done?" *Fair Play* wrote that the Reformers were allowing opium to come in "freely now and do nothing about it."

As conviction grew among the people that the bribe

charges against the king were phony, a demand arose for full investigation, including the "confession" claimed to have been dictated by Aki in the lawyer's office. In the midst of this furor Aki died suddenly, mysteriously. News of his death was published only in the *Bulletin*; no mention of it in the *Gazette*.

Rumors and gossip increased. Many believed that Aki had been poisoned; his friends said he was on the verge of making a "real confession." The Reformers insisted that he had died of "a broken heart." The turmoil became so great that the Government hastened to announce full payment would be made to his estate. Under further prodding from those now convinced that the whole thing had been a frame-up, the case was taken to the Supreme Court which promptly dismissed it on the grounds that "The king can do no wrong"—a statement they had formerly ridiculed.

Repercussions were terrific among those foreigners who had assisted in the revolt under the impression they were rescuing the kingdom from financial debaucheries. The united front which had made possible the revolution swiftly dissolved.

Mrs. Howard's breach-of-promise suit against Walter Murray Gibson, ill in a San Francisco hospital, now came to trial. Her attorneys were W. A. Kinney and W. O. Smith; Paul Neumann defended Gibson, and under his shrewd questioning, absurdity of the plaintiff's charges became quickly apparent. He made her admit that Gibson had called on her only at her request, had given her no gifts, had replied to none of her letters; he aroused doubt that she herself had even written them. In reply to his inquiry as to how she came into possession of her letters to Gibson she said she had made copies of them (sixteen-page, handwritten letters!). Neumann's summation was a masterpiece as

he put together her own admissions, brought out under adroit questioning, that Gibson had rebuffed her at every turn and that she had suffered no injury to her reputation other than that of her own making.

The jury, composed entirely of Rifles members, out briefly, filed back in with a verdict of guilty against Gibson, and an award of \$10,000 damages to Mrs. Howard.

The *Gazette* said that those who called the suit a frame-up "tell a despicable lie," but in later years some members of the jury admitted that it was; considering it a great joke.

Now to the Reformers came a matter not so easily handled. The new Portuguese consul, Augustine Marques, was proving less amenable than his predecessor. Charging the Reformers with "making an Asiatic colony of Hawaii," he insisted that they stick to their pre-election pledge of "No more Japanese immigration." The Portuguese, he said, had come to the Islands with the intention of making permanent homes, "they do not come merely for the money they can make and take away . . . but they want a living wage for their labors . . . they ask of the planters \$20 or \$30 a month—and they are worth it. . . . Now they find themselves displaced by Japanese, who are willing to work for \$10 or \$15 a month."

Reminding the legislators that 5,000 Portuguese votes had put them into office, he warned that unless they were given better treatment they would leave for California to live under American laws "and leave Hawaii to become an Asiatic colony."

Letters agreeing with Marquis poured in to the newspapers but the legislators, ignoring all threats and warning, passed a bill to "liberalize the importation of Asiatics" and one who had joined the Reformers at the time of the revolt now wrote to the *Bulletin*, "Is this what we were ready to



fight for? . . . It is an insult to those who wanted moral government." Of the Reformers he begged: "Don't give outsiders a chance to say that the revolution was only the madness of the many for the gain of the few. . . ."

A bill was passed abolishing the office of governors for the outer islands, each now filled by a Hawaiian. Using his rights under the Constitution, the king vetoed it and the Reformers, stunned that he would dare to disobey them, howled in rage. Said the *Gazette*, "He seems to have forgotten what happened on June 30 . . . ignored the fact that we have the power, not he. . . . He is encouraging mob rule."

It was rumored that dissatisfaction with "the dictatorial rule of the invisible government" had spread to members of the Cabinet and in December, 1887, less than six months after the Bayonet Revolution, Prime Minister Godfrey Brown submitted his resignation to the king.

Denouncing his action angrily, the *Gazette* said his resignation should have been submitted, not to the king, but to those who appointed him. "Such acts . . . encourage the king in thinking he has some control left." The editor demanded that Minister Brown withdraw his resignation. He refused to do so.

Came then another bit of news to alarm the Reformers. Since Gibson's deportation, their agents had kept him under constant surveillance even though he had been ill in a hospital most of the time. Now came word that he was writing a book on conditions in Hawaii, and his enemies trembled at the thought of what he could do to them with his trenchant pen.

## CHAPTER 22

## Death of Walter Murray Gibson

WALTER MURRAY GIBSON's diary notes his arrival in San Francisco August 6, 1887: "We were expected. Reporters after me. I got in carriage, stopped to talk with Consul McKinley, then went to the Occidental Hotel. Interviewed by reporters each step of way; talking, walking; completely exhausted. My voice gave way: hoarse; inaudible. Foggy and cold here. Suffered terribly." Next day, very ill, he entered St. Mary's Hospital.

Meanwhile in Honolulu, loyal post office employees warned his family and friends that all mail to him was opened and read. Thereafter, all letters were sent to Consul McKinley for delivery or, when the *SS Australia* passed through, by the ship's physician Dr. Kuehn. Under this arrangement letters and gifts arrived by scores, the names most often mentioned in Gibson's diary being Talula, King Kalakaua, J. S. Walker, William Irwin, Paul Neumann, Fanny Bickerton (wife of Judge Bickerton), Eva Neumann and, on every voyage, letters from M, "they fill my heart with joy."

As soon as his health began to improve Gibson started writing a book, keeping his notes in a special safe at the nearby Catholic Mission after being warned of a plot to steal them. When word came of the verdict in the breach-of-promise suit he wrote gallantly: "It only arouses me, stiffens me up, and does not depress me." To provide cash

demanding by the verdict, son-in-law Hayselden sold his Waikiki beach house at a sacrifice and moved his family into Gibson's former home in town.

Letters brought news of unrest in Honolulu: "According to reports revolt is rising on all sides against the Reformers," wrote Gibson. "The king seems to be standing his ground. Walker writes often, keeps me in touch with Government news." Stories of Hawaiian turmoil appeared in San Francisco papers and the *Call* sent a reporter to interview Gibson, who said:

"Friends report a very upset state of affairs. . . . The Reformers have turned plunderers and would make loot of the palace itself but for the restraining influence of the British and Americans. . . . I regret the disordered state there now but they armed the mob and now the mob is turning against them. . . . I shall return to the Islands as soon as my health is restored."

Catholic Sisters from the Mission took Gibson shopping for Christmas presents: "A gold bangle for my baby Rachel; books for Walter; a beautiful crucifix for my precious M. . . ." The list was long and covered many loyal friends.

In late December Gibson wrote of a mysterious fire that broke out in the Mission: "I rushed over, anxious about my private papers." The fire was quickly extinguished, but the next day Gibson was very ill, "aroused by the circumstances of the fire." No diary notes for several days then: "The events surrounding the origin of the fire have disturbed and set me back. Very prostrate; no appetite. The nurse rubs my swollen feet with oil. Sisters send me daily appetizing bits of food."

He grew rapidly worse. No further notes in his diary. On the night of January 24, 1888, one week after his sixty-fourth birthday, Gibson died quietly in his sleep.

The manuscript of his book, which he had brought back from the Catholic Mission, mysteriously disappeared.

It was Gibson's request that his body be taken back to Honolulu for interment. The Catholic Church took charge, and a San Francisco paper reported: "The casket, an exceedingly handsome one, is covered with heavy black cloth. The interior is lined with blue satin . . . the four sides ornamented with solid-gold handles and on the lid a cross and crown and a handsomely engraved plate bearing his name and dates. A handsome and expensive black silk robe covered the body. The long gray beard was carefully combed and the hair brushed back, showing the high forehead."

On the morning of February 17 the SS *Zealandia*, bearing the casket, was met in Honolulu by crowds of Hawaiians and foreigners. Two Hawaiian organizations, *Ahahui Poola* and *Ahahui Opiopio*, stood ready to draw the waiting catafalque by hand to Gibson's old home, Hale Aniani, to lie in state. The route was lined with people and, said the *Bulletin*, "the manifestations of grief and sorrow by the Hawaiians were touching."

In the music room of the gracious old home the casket was surrounded by a guard of honor day and night. On either side stood tall Hawaiian *kahili* bearers, as at the funerals of royalty; at the head and foot were "exquisite floral arrangements brought by the Sisters of Mercy who were in constant attendance . . . the room was filled with flowers, gifts from sad and sympathetic friends . . . the casket was embowered with flowers."

Throughout the day and night Hawaiians and foreigners, loyal to him in life, came to pay him honor in death. Wrote one: "He looked as he did in life; appeared to be merely sleeping." Some of his enemies came to gaze, happy that his crusading voice was stilled forever.



At two o'clock on Sunday afternoon Father Lenore led a brief ceremony before the casket was closed. Then, once again, Hawaiians drew the catafalque through densely lined streets to the Catholic Cathedral, followed by the Royal Hawaiian Band and members of the family: Talula, Fred, their children; son Henry and his Hawaiian wife and their children (son John had died several years earlier), and many eminent citizens of Honolulu. At the cathedral entrance stood the Right Reverend Bishop of Olba who, with the Very Reverend Father Lenore and Father Sylvester, escorted the casket down the aisle, followed by incense and candle bearers and *kahilis* carried by Hawaiians. The church was filled to overflowing.

The *Advertiser* listed as present all the royal family, top government officials, the entire diplomatic corps, officers of all foreign vessels in port, and a long roll of eminent citizens. Said the *Bulletin*: "A solemn and impressive ceremony was performed by the Bishop of Olba . . . the manifestations of sincere sorrow and heartfelt mourning were visible far beyond the immediate circle of relations and intimate friends."

Then, for the last time, the catafalque, drawn by Hawaiians, passed through crowd-lined streets to the Catholic cemetery on King Street where it was placed in a vault reserved for bishops.

Said the *Bulletin*: "Thus we have seen the last on earth of a remarkable man, a man of varied attainments and diversified experiences. He had his friends and he had his enemies. Let us speak kindly of the dead if our profession of Christianity is anything more than a hollow pretense.

"The bishop's words, quoted from the Great Teacher, are appropriate: 'Let him who is without fault cast the first stone.'"

A letter signed A. Moroff said: "Walter Murray Gibson, the great American, is no more, yet many of his better deeds prove proud monuments to his name. He beautified this city; built stately structures . . . behaved in private life, as well as in official stations, courteous, honorable, and temperate . . . a friend of the poor and needy, with good will for all. . . . Not perfect, nor infallible, nor a god, yet in large measure a most remarkable man of great mind and tender soul."

Gibson's enemies had charged that "he made millions in graft during his years in public office," yet his estate proved to be "less than \$100,000, subject to large indebtedness." After final settlement the *Gazette* reported "About \$30,000 will accrue to the Hayseldens." Nonetheless for years to come his enemies continued to publish stories about "Gibson's million-dollar estate, stolen from the Government."

His death seemed to spur disintegration of the Reform regime. Rumors of behind-the-scene quarrels were now brought into the open. V. V. Ashford denounced the "back-stage rulers" and declared "you have to be a lickspittle to stay in their favor." Minister of Finance Green resigned. Letter writers urged a new constitution drawn by "free men."

American newspapers took note of conditions in the Islands. The *Washington National Republican* said that "America would be pleased to see King Kalakaua abrogate the present constitution forced upon him . . . and end the rule of those who bulldoze his peaceful people . . . such a move would receive the applause of . . . the United States. . . . Long live King Kalakaua!"

The *San Francisco News* ridiculed "the windy vaporings . . . of that government hireling the *Gazette* . . . with

its fulsome flattery of the ruling potentates." The *Examiner* quoted Portuguese Consul Marquis as saying his people were leaving Hawaii in disgust and added, "California gladly welcomes them." In Honolulu it was announced that Charles R. Bishop was transferring his investments to California "because," said the *Advertiser*, "of his lack of faith in the local government."

Alarmed by the thousands of Japanese now being imported the *Bulletin* expressed belief that Hawaii would be better off in the end if the plantations were abandoned and the country allowed to develop normally. People of all other races, aroused, formed an "Anti-Asiatic Union" and passed a resolution: "No harm or retroactive measures are intended against those already here . . . but continuation of their importation will mean annihilation of the native race, enforced emigration of the white settlers, and the final transformation, ere long, of the Hawaiian Islands into an Asiatic colony."

When the Legislature met in May, 1888, the Union presented a petition asking the the importation of Japanese be stopped altogether. They presented comments made in letters to newspapers: "The danger from the Japanese is their amazing unity . . . touch one, you touch all." Another wrote: "They stick together like ticks . . . and therein lies the danger from their numbers." The manager of a Maui plantation wrote: "They get their way by constant complaining." Wrote another, "The problem will grow more serious. It behooves the whites to strike out for shore even if they do not make it."

Despite these pleas, the petition was rejected by the planters who replied: "They work for less money than any others we can procure." Thereafter the *Bulletin* published, conspicuously, the weekly arrivals of thousands of Japanese.

Despite its hand-picked membership the 1888 Legislature was in constant turmoil. B. F. Dillingham, advocate of development of a "citizens' state," secured introduction of a bill providing a franchise and subsidy for building a railway from Honolulu to Pearl Harbor. But when the bill was reported out of committee his name had been deleted and the bill so drawn as to eliminate him. Protesting vigorously, he said he had spent much time and money on the project and would refuse to allow it to go into the hands of another. Said V. V. Ashford: "Mr. Dillingham will have to learn to be a lickspittle before he can get along." Finally, after putting up a strong fight, he got an exclusive franchise to construct and operate steam railroads on Oahu and in August, 1888, construction was begun.

On May 29 announcement was made that the *Advertiser* had been sold and thereafter would be published in conjunction with the *Gazette*, editor of both to be Henry Whitney. In 1878 Mr. Whitney had been deposed from editorship of the *Advertiser* because of his opposition to importation of Asiatic labor. Now, properly chastened, he was to become its leading advocate. Shortly afterward a group of Hawaiians and *haoles*, saying that the *Advertiser*, long the friend of Hawaiians, had become "The Family Tooter," launched a newspaper, *Makaainana* (The People), with a ringing editorial:

"Hold fast, oh, King! Hold fast to your position! Here we are all at your back. . . . We are proud of your bold stand against the bills intended to destroy your people. We are the real Hawaii—from the rising to the setting sun. Therefore, hold fast! And when these people come again to intimidate you, oh, King, here we stand, ready to obey your command. HAWAII PONO'I!"

Wrote a contributor: "Back of King Kalakaua stand the



loyal people of this kingdom, native and foreigner. We may not have the largest purses but we have the strongest arms and the firmest hearts!"

## CHAPTER 23

### Robert Louis Stevenson Meets Hawaii

VISITORS to the Islands during these troublous times expressed admiration for the manner in which King Kalakaua met test after test; calm, imperturbable, urbane, his gracious manner unchanged. Only the Hawaiians noted the saddened expression of his eyes, his increasing tenderness with his people. Official duties were carried out punctiliously, but entertainment at Iolani Palace under the watchful eyes of the Reformers lacked its former delightful flavor. Only at small, intimate parties at his boathouse, limited to trusted friends, did the monarch seem his warm and vibrant self again.

Turning more and more to his historical studies, with the assistance of former American Consul Rollin Daggett, he wrote a book on Hawaiian legends. Next, he sponsored publication of a beautiful new magazine, *Paradise of the Pacific*, which he hoped would become "an ambassador of good will for Hawaii throughout the world." And, despite ridicule by the Reform newspapers, he continued to hold meetings of *Hale Nau-a*, of which the *Gazette* wrote jeeringly: "The full dress is believed to consist of a ball of twine and a pocket handkerchief."

The Princess Kaiulani would be thirteen years old on October 17, 1888, and the Hawaiians decided to make of

her birthday a tremendous demonstration of loyalty to the royal family. Invitations were issued for a reception at Ainahau, the ten-acre estate given to her at birth by her godmother, Princess Ruth, and converted by her father, Archibald Cleghorn, into a garden of fabulous beauty filled with exotic flowers and trees from many lands.

Through the trellised arched entrance to the grounds a driveway, between rows of stately palms, led to the gracious pillared mansion set in a grove of 500 coco palms. Artificial lakes dotted with pink lotus blossoms gave added charm, with occasional pieces of statuary as grace notes. Everywhere there was a profusion of fragrant jasmine. Scores of peacocks strutted through the grounds, displaying their gorgeous plumage to the delight of the little princess who, loving them equally with her jasmine blossoms, called both of them "*pikaki*," (Hawaiian phonetic of peacock).

On reception day the garden's romantic beauty was accented by *kukui* torches which flamed like golden flowers in the shadow of wide-spreading banyan trees. Within, the mansion was festive with floral arrangements forming a vivid background for ancestral feather *kahilis* in each stately room. Groups of strolling minstrels filled the perfumed air with melody and song, and over the mansion flew the princess's own royal pennant.

All Honolulu society, Hawaiian and foreign, came to pay homage to the little princess, idol of her people. The diplomatic corps arrived in full dress as did officers of all foreign warships in port. Local government officials came; even those who sneered at "this royal nonsense." The Hawaiians were there in full force, bursting with pride in their little *ali'i*.

Dressed in pale blue satin, Kaiulani was a picture of girlish loveliness with her ivory-tinted skin, long brown curls, and

large, warmly luminous brown eyes. Standing beside her parents in the drawing room, she greeted guests in a manner shy yet completely poised, "sustaining the finest traditions of the pomp and glory of royalty."

Birthday presents were many and beautiful, including jewelry, books, a violin, and "innumerable fans and lace handkerchiefs." Toasts to her health and good fortune were offered throughout the evening and chanted *meles* and *olis* extolled her beauty and exalted lineage. Her father announced that in the following spring she would be sent to England to complete her education and receive the necessary training for her destined duties as ruler of the Hawaiian Kingdom.

It was at this reception that Isobel Strong informed King Kalakaua that her mother and stepfather, famed writer Robert Louis Stevenson, would arrive soon for an island sojourn. Wrote she: "His Majesty was one of the few people in Honolulu who knew of his fame and had read his books."

For the past six months the Stevensons had been living in the South Sea Islands and, enamored of the gentle Polynesians, had written: "The first experience can never be repeated; the first love, the first sunrise, the first South Sea island are memories apart and touch a virginity of senses." Polynesians, Stevenson found, were "healthiest and happiest where they have been left alone." He was depressed by the activities of some missionaries who set about "to reduce life to no song, no dance, no tobacco, no alleviating life, only toil and churchgoing."

These well-intentioned people, he said, "Would not think of destroying the natives by physical war . . . but to Polynesians the change of habits is bloodier than a bombard-

ment . . . and deriding their ancient civilization is devastating to them." Mormons, he found, were free of such faults, "kindly, intelligent, they meddle less . . . are models of virtuous living."

During the Stevensons' travels among the southern islands they had found the names of Queen Victoria and King Kalakaua "greatly revered by all the natives . . . often they were linked together in prayer in native churches." So it was with the keenest anticipation that they sailed into Honolulu Harbor on the morning of January 24, 1889. Prior to their arrival the Reform newspapers expressed hope that Stevenson would spread the fame of the Islands throughout the world by his writings, but after learning that his interest lay entirely with the Hawaiians they dismissed him as "a Bohemian crank" and thereafter made scant mention of him.

The Hawaiians Stevenson loved immediately but he felt "oppressed by civilization in Honolulu . . . all the fun of life is lost by it. . . ." Settled in Sans Souci, an old-fashioned beach house at Waikiki, he soon made it known that, with but few exceptions, he preferred to spend his time with Hawaiians. Particularly did he like King Kalakaua with "his serious, courtly manner . . . beautiful command of language, his personal charm and his kingly dignity . . . the finest gentleman I ever met. . . . But what a crop for drink! He carries, it too, like a mountain with a sparrow on its shoulder."

Often he was the king's sole guest for breakfast at the palace where they would spend the morning discussing Hawaiian history, archaeology, legends, and lore. He was fascinated by His Majesty's personal notebooks and spent hours poring over them. To the shocked disapproval of the



Reformers he attended meetings of the *Hale Nau-a*, of which the Stronges were honorary members, finding them "most interesting."

Stevenson loved the *hula* programs presented at the king's beach house: "Song, as with all Pacific Islanders, goes hand in hand with the dance." He expressed deep regret that King Kalakaua's dream of a united Polynesia had failed, due, in part, he thought, to the misbehavior of John E. Bush. "It came too late . . . the *Kaimiloa* mission returned from dreams of Polynesian independence to find their own city in the hands of a clique of white shopkeepers and the great Gibson in jail."

At a *luau* in honor of the Stevensons given by Henry Poor, the author presented King Kalakaua with a rare golden pearl from the Low Archipelago, with a poem describing it as ". . . doubly precious since it pleased a king. . . .

"'Tis mine to offer for Apollo's sake  
And since the gift is fitting  
Yours to take.  
To golden hands the golden pearl I bring  
The Queen of jewels, to an island King."

From the moment of their meeting Stevenson adored the little Princess Kaiulani, and many were the hours they spent together under the great banyan tree in the gardens of Ainalahau where he wove fascinating tales for her delight. Realizing her reluctance at the thought of leaving her lovely island home to go abroad to school, he told her stories of England, drawing warm pictures of its beauty and the friendliness of its people. And in her little red plush album he wrote:

## TO KAIULANI

From her land to mine she goes, the island maiden,  
the island rose,  
Light of heart and bright of face,  
the daughter of a double race.  
Her islands here in Southern sun  
shall mourn their Kaiulani gone,  
And I, in her dear banyan shade,  
look vainly for my little maid.  
But our Scots island far away  
shall glitter with unwonted day  
And cast for once their tempests by—  
to smile in Kaiulani's eye.

Written in April to Kaiulani in the April of her age; and at Waikiki within easy walk of Kaiulani's banyan. When she comes to my land and her father's and the wind beats upon the window (as I fear it will), let her look at this page; it will be like a weed gathered and pressed at home; and she will remember her own islands and the shadow of the mighty tree. And she will hear the peacocks screaming in the dusk and the wind blowing in the palms, and she will think of her father sitting there alone. RLS.

To his friend W. H. Low, Stevenson wrote: "I wear the colors of the little royal maid. . . . Oh, Low, how I love the Polynesians!"

After Kaiulani's departure in May, 1889, Stevenson went to the island of Hawaii "to spend two lovely weeks among God's best, sweetest works, the Polynesians." Honolulu, with its population of 24,000, he said "puts me out of sorts, but to live in a Polynesian village and drink that warm

*vin du pays* of human affection and enjoy the simple dignity all about you . . . that was a week it was perfect to live!" His own health, he said, "is always better when among the gentle natives."

Having heard a great deal of Father Damien's work among the lepers at Kalaupapa, Stevenson was eager to meet and talk with him but on April 15 the good Father had died of the dread disease, caught from those to whom he ministered. Wishing to see the conditions under which he had spent the last years of his life, Stevenson decided to go to the settlement anyway. While there he "sought out those who worshiped him and those who beheld him with no halo," and was convinced that, despite criticism by some, "the good priest was a saint and a hero. . . ."

On returning to Honolulu the Stevensons decided to go back to Samoa, and Isobel Strong prepared to go with them. When they arrived at dockside on the morning of June 24 they found an immense crowd of Hawaiians awaiting them with a profusion of *leis* and gifts. King Kalakaua brought the Royal Band to serenade them and, as his personal gift to Stevenson, an exquisite little model of a schooner with silken sails bearing the inscription: "May the Winds and Waves be favorable." As their vessel put to sea a group of Hawaiians in canoes followed for a long distance, singing the songs the Stevensons loved best.

In San Francisco, they boarded the trading schooner *Equator* and traveled extensively throughout Micronesia. Arriving in Samoa six months later, they learned of a letter written by the Rev. C. M. Hyde of Honolulu to a friend in Australia, in which he called Father Damien "a stupid, dirty person who slept with female lepers." Intended as a private letter, it had been given to the newspapers by its recipient and was causing a sensation, its publication halt-

ing a world-wide subscription for a monument to Father Damien.

Immeasurably shocked and angered, Stevenson sat down and addressed to the Rev. Hyde a philippic destined to become classic. Drawing a devastating contrast between Mr. Hyde's clean, expensive home in Honolulu and the ghastly conditions under which Father Damien had lived in the leper settlement, Stevenson asked why the minister was not there to aid the lepers. So blistering was his comment that, before sending the letter to his publisher in London, Stevenson read it to his family, warning that it might bring a lawsuit which would ruin him.

"He read it," wrote Isobel, "in a voice vibrant with scorn, indignation, irony, and infinite pity . . . his invectives scorched and sizzled."

When he had finished reading, she and her mother said without hesitancy, "Publish it."

The letter caused a world-wide sensation. Stevenson refused to accept any royalties from its publication, diverting them all to a fund for lepers. In later years he expressed regret over the violence of its tone which he said would have been modified on second thought. In Honolulu it was ignored, except by the *Elele* which published and distributed it free throughout the Islands.

## CHAPTER 24

### Wilcox Leads a Revolt

ROBERT KALANI-HIAPŌ WILCOX, one of the Hawaiian boys sent by King Kalakaua to be educated in Europe, was born



February 15, 1855, of an American father and a Hawaiian mother. He was tall, slender, erect, with flashing black eyes indicating a highly emotional and rebellious nature. Mentally keen, shrewd, even brilliant, his judgment was often blurred by ardent convictions that counted no costs when his sense of justice was outraged. A penchant for drama plus hotheaded impulses was to hurl him into cycles of spectacular success and deplorable failure.

Selected by the king for special training because of his apparent talent for leadership, Wilcox spent six gloriously happy years in Italy, graduating in engineering and military science from the Royal Military Academy in Turin. Of even greater importance to his development than scholastic achievement was the influence upon his impressionable nature of the life and deeds of the patriot Giuseppe Garibaldi, idol of Italian youth. Inspired by the colorful hero's career, young Wilcox dreamed of leading his own homeland to heights of glory.

In the spring of 1887 Wilcox married Gina, daughter of Baron Lorenzo Sobrere and the former Princess Victoria Colonna di Stigliana, in a wedding marked by much fanfare. The bride, described by the Italian press as belonging to the highest aristocracy of the land, was said to be "a recognized poetess and novelist in her own right." The young couple was widely feted by the international set in Rome. Two months later the Reformers came into power in Hawaii and immediately Wilcox and all other Hawaiian boys studying abroad were recalled.

En route home the Wilcoxes were warmly received in America and lauded by the press, San Francisco's *Alta* describing the bride as "a beautiful, charming, cultured young woman with the capabilities and graces fit to shine at the capital of any nation." A Seattle paper referred to Wilcox

as having "the graceful mannerisms and the characteristic gentleness of his race . . . combined with an air of culture and refinement. . . . He speaks English, French, and Italian fluently, and is an engaging conversationalist."

On their arrival in Honolulu, however, they were coldly received by the new "behind-the-throne rulers." King Kalakaua's appointment of Wilcox as a major in the Household Guards was vetoed by the Reformers. Princess Liliuokalani then urged that he be made governor of one of the outer islands, but this, too, was rejected. Robert Boyd, another Anglo-Hawaiian who had been with Wilcox in Italy, met with the same reception. Neither was permitted to hold government office.

Turning to the commercial field, they sought engineering work for which they had been trained in Italy, and again they found all doors closed. The Reform papers, ridiculing their "pretensions," said if they had been trained as mechanics places would have been available "but to train Hawaiians for higher positions is absurd . . . ornamental and military educations are wholly unsuited for them."

Angered, but with spirit unbroken, Wilcox called upon the Minister of Interior and demanded an explanation, to be told flatly: "There is no place for you in Hawaii; why don't you return to Italy?"

"Their only charge against us," said Wilcox, "is that we have what they call 'the old Gibson viewpoint.' They are determined that no educated Hawaiian will be permitted to work for the Government . . . one of them told me that if we made trouble we would be run out of the country." Finally he was "offered a job dragging a surveyor's chain, at a salary that wouldn't keep a cat alive," which he haughtily refused. He prepared to take his wife, now expecting a baby, back to San Francisco where he felt confi-

dent he would receive just treatment from "the great American people."

The baby, a daughter, was born in San Francisco, but by now Gina, ill and unhappy because of the treatment given her in Honolulu, wanted to return to Italy. Wilcox was determined to return eventually to Hawaii and attempt the rescue of his homeland from those he termed "robbers and traitors." Within a year Gina and the baby had gone back to Italy there to remain and Wilcox to Honolulu where he was warmly welcomed by his own people. Gina later got a divorce.

The *Alta*, condemning the Hawaiian Government for the treatment given them, said that Wilcox was well educated and capable of serving his country, "His wife is a cultured woman. . . . It was not wise to deprive her husband of the only possible means by which his special training would provide her the station in life she merited."

On his return to Hawaii, Princess Liliuokalani provided Wilcox with a small cottage in the grounds of her Palama home and it was there that Hawaiian patriots gathered nightly to discuss the ills of their nation and to make plans for ousting the hated Reformers.

Before dawn of July 30, 1889, while Honolulu lay shrouded in darkness, small groups of Hawaiians and Chinese began to gather in the streets surrounding Iolani Palace. By four o'clock several hundred had assembled in, or near, Palace Square. Guardedly they whispered together. Suddenly came the sound for which they waited—marching men. Led by Wilcox in the brilliant uniform of the Garibaldi, the company halted before the *mauka* gate in the concrete wall surrounding the palace.

The king had not slept that night at Iolani Palace but at

his home on Punchbowl Street not far distant. The queen was at her Waikiki beach house.

On this night, as always, the four wall gates were locked from inside and guarded by sentries. As later testified by Wilcox (and reported by the *Bulletin*) he knocked at the gate and the sentry inside called "*Owai kela?*" (Who is there?) to which he replied: "It is I, Wilcox." The sentry then said: "I understand. This is for our mutual good. We will go inside the palace." Whereupon all of the sentries went into the palace, leaving the gates unguarded. Then a tall Hawaiian policeman, who had joined the troops en route, lifted one of the smaller men atop the wall whence he jumped to the ground and unlocked the gates. The troops then marched into the palace grounds, locking the gates behind them.

Wilcox entered the palace and woke up Captain of the Guards Robert Waipa Parker. Explaining "We are not here to fight but to uphold the rights of the king and the people," he asked the captain to leave them alone and no damage would be done. Parker agreed "and his men and mine guarded the gates together." After awhile Parker decided he had better report the matter to Captain Kahalewai of the King's Own Household Guards, stationed behind the palace in Iolani Barracks. On returning he told Wilcox that Captain Kahalewai had said "Try to hold the palace, but if you can't—well, that's all there is to it."

They agreed that Parker and his men would remain inside the palace while the Wilcox troops, occupying the grounds, would not try to enter. A messenger was then sent to King Kalakaua to inform him that Wilcox and his forces were in possession of the palace. The king sent back his personal envoy, Captain Robert Hoapili Baker, with instructions that Wilcox was not to occupy the palace, merely



hold the grounds. Then His Majesty, accompanied by his chamberlain, Britisher James M. Robertson, left the house on Punchbowl Street and went to his boathouse in Honolulu Harbor, there to await developments.

Thus far everything had worked out as planned. The Wilcox forces, following the precedent set by the Reformers, had taken peaceful possession of the palace after which Wilcox was to announce that he was in control of the government and had asked King Kalakaua to return and sign a new constitution restoring the rights of the people. The Reformers were then to be ousted, without violence, and the Hawaiian Government returned to the Hawaiian people.

It was not to be that simple. By 8 A.M. the Reformers discovered what had taken place and all Honolulu was buzzing with excitement. The Rifles, called out in full force, were soon marching up and down the streets and Hawaiians had begun to arrive from all parts of the island of Oahu. Of necessity, plans for the revolt had been revealed to only a small number, therefore many Hawaiians did not understand the purpose of the action and rumors were rife. One story circulated was that Princess Liliuokalani had sponsored the movement in an effort to depose her brother, the king, and credence was given it by reason of Wilcox's residence at her Palama home. Some of the Hawaiians, confused, were heard to say: "But we don't want to remove our king."

The atmosphere grew more tense when Rifles sharpshooters were posted in the opera house, overlooking the palace grounds, and others were stationed in Kawaiahao Church, flanking the palace.

The Wilcox troops, as later proven, had only thirty-five

rifles and but little ammunition. The rest of the weapons were old muzzle-loading "rice guns" furnished by Chinese rice planters who used them to scare birds off the paddies. They were carried merely "for appearances," since it was not the intention of the troops to do any shooting. When the revolt appeared to have been successful, some of the "rebels" climbed up on the palace wall to enjoy the sight of crowds milling up and down the streets outside.

At 10 A.M. the Hon. Samuel Damon, Minister of Finance, accompanied by a guard of Riflemen, went to the King Street palace gate and, standing outside, read a proclamation "demanding submission of the rebels and the turning over of the palace to the rightful Government." When there was no response from within, he and his guard walked away to the cheers and hearty guffaws of the "rebels" atop the wall.

Shortly thereafter the first shots were fired by government troops stationed in the opera house; then came a fusillade from the Rifles in Kawaiahao Church, wounding Robert Boyd, second in command of the Wilcox forces. The "rebels" returned the fire and the shooting became general on both sides. George Markham, another Anglo-Hawaiian leader, was wounded. Then a small cannon which had been in the palace grounds for many years was loaded and trained on the opera house by Wilcox but, aimed too high, merely tore off the treetops. By this time thousands of Hawaiians and Chinese had gathered outside the palace walls yet, commented an onlooker, "Although their sympathy was with the rebels there was no means of giving them aid."

As the situation took on a more serious aspect marines from the *USS Adams*, then in port, were marched ashore

and stationed in front of the United States consulate where many foreign women had gone for safety. A general uprising against foreigners was feared.

Firing from both sides increased. Several natives were killed and thirty of the "rebels" sought safety within the palace where they were held as prisoners by Captain Parker who had remained inside the building. Continuous fire from the opera house forced Wilcox and his men into the Bungalow, a two-story frame house in the *mauka-ewa* corner of the palace grounds near Richards Street. There, concealed from the sharpshooters, they started firing the last of their ammunition. Someone in the crowd outside yelled "Get the caged rebels!" So a detail of the Rifles "crept along the wall and tossed dynamite bombs into the Bungalow until it was entirely demolished."

As the building collapsed around them, Wilcox, carrying a white tablecloth in token of surrender, came out followed by his men, some of whom escaped by climbing over the wall. The gates were opened and the Rifles, surging in, arrested Wilcox and those remaining with him. As they were marched through the streets toward the police station some Hawaiians lining the sidewalks shouted maledictions upon the Rifles, others sobbed their despair. Reported the *Bulletin*: "The rebel chief bore himself sullenly and proudly through the crowded streets, casting looks of disdain to right and left as cries of vengeance were heard: 'String him up, etc.'"

That night Honolulu streets were patrolled by the Rifles and United States marines. Next morning the Government announced: "Seven rebels killed, twelve wounded. . . . Wilcox taken prisoner, refuses to squeal on anyone, takes all the blame."

Immediately the Government started to "round up all

the traitors." Among those brought in were two young Chinese and a former Belgian artillery officer, Albert Loomens, who had been in the Islands only three months. Many Hawaiians were arrested, and a great cry of indignation rose from both Hawaiians and *haoles* when the greatly beloved Rev. Joseph Poepoe was brought in "because he knew about the treason." Others were arrested on the same vague charge, but Wilcox, Robert Boyd, and George Markham were regarded as the principal offenders.

The Reform papers cried for revenge. Said the *Advertiser*: "This is the first time in civilized Hawaii that Riot and Rebellion have shaken their gory locks . . . for the first time Treason has drawn its sword and spilled blood. . . . No language can be used that will convey the detestation in which they should be held. . . . They are guilty of treason . . . and deserve only the traitor's doom—prompt death . . ."

Replied the Hawaiian *Leo o Ka Lahui*: (People's Voice) "Who are the murderers? Yes! Who are the murderers? Whose hands are stained with the Country-loving blood of true-hearted Hawaiians? What church was turned into a blood-flowing fort? . . . When these so-called Reformers took our government from us we did not shoot at them . . . but when the natives took a hand with the idea that it was the proper thing, they shot and killed our people. . . . Now we say to you—we did not riot, *you* were the ones who rioted!"

Under the laws of the kingdom, Hawaiians could be tried only by native juries, foreigners by foreigners. To show what was expected in "a traitor's trial," the Reformers began with the Belgian, Albert Loomens, charged with treason. Loomens testified that he had been in Hawaii less than three months; that he met Wilcox soon after his arrival



and attended several meetings at his home; that he understood little of the discussions because they were conducted in Hawaiian; he knew they were planning to retake their government but believed that "if rights had been taken from the king they should be restored."

The trial was brief. At its close the *Advertiser* said: "Chief Justice Judd ruled that there was no escape from finding a verdict of guilty." The jury agreed, and the judge pronounced sentence: "On the first Monday in December . . . you shall be hung by the neck until you are dead." The *Bulletin* published a letter, signed Foreigner, saying that the verdict was "a mockery of justice."

Next came the trial of Ho Fon, charged with having furnished rifles, ammunition, uniforms, and money for the revolt. Again Justice Judd instructed the jury to pay close attention to the fact that the prisoner admitted his intimacy with Wilcox: "If you believe he was close to Wilcox then you must find him a coconspirator."

The jury found Ho Fon guilty, and the Reform newspapers said the evidence brought out at the trial proved the danger of importing any more Chinese: "They are too fond of the natives . . . the combination would be strong enough to overthrow civilized government."

"Foreigner" again wrote: "Is it not time this farce played out? . . . Let us have peace."

When Wilcox was arraigned he was calm and deliberate. The coup, he said, was intended to restore the rights of the people, both *haoles* and Hawaiians; he had not discussed it personally with the king; he and his friends had prepared a constitution returning control of the government to the people which they had intended to ask the king to sign. He told of knocking at the palace gate and the reply of the sentry.

"When we went inside we found everyone in our favor. I could see that from their looks. Captain Kahalewai made a soft speech to his men saying I was there for the rights of the people. . . . We did not go there to fight. . . . I could have taken the palace if I wanted to but I received a message to preserve the sacredness of the palace and leave Parker and his men there, and I did so. . . . Only object was to get a new constitution. . . . I never saw the king personally. . . . We did not want him to come to the palace—only afterward. . . . The first shot came from the opera house . . . when the firing became general my men responded."

He closed his testimony with the proud statement: "I am for the king and the people."

A group of Hawaiians was questioned. George Markham, Anglo-Hawaiian, said that most of the guns they carried were harmless rice guns: "We did not intend to kill anyone or destroy any property. Wilcox warned us not to hurt anyone. We just carried guns because guns got this last constitution. . . . We did not shoot until fired upon from the opera house. They were sheltered and we were exposed. We would not have fired if they had not . . . we fired in self-defense. . . . We just wanted to restore our rights."

J. Kauhane testified that all of the policemen they met en route to the palace joined them: "One of them helped our men over the wall." Only after the Reformers had wounded Boyd, he said, did Wilcox give them orders to fire. He said Captain Parker was good to them and fed them during the day.

Robert Boyd, Anglo-Hawaiian, told of being refused any kind of work on his return from Italy: "I was left to loaf—and I did not want to loaf. I felt despondent, this being my own country. . . . Even after I was shot, I still believed I

had done right." He said Attorney General Ashford told him: "There are going to be two or three hanging from the noose," adding bitterly, "I do not want to be hung and leave my wife and child."

Wilcox, to the surprise of everyone, was charged with mere conspiracy instead of treason. This was done, so it was rumored, because of the belief that no Hawaiian jury would condemn him to death; by making the lesser charge, the prosecution hoped to obtain life imprisonment. On opening day the courtroom was packed with Hawaiians and the government forces noted, with some uneasiness, that they all seemed to be in a gala, triumphant mood.

Antone Rosa appeared as counsel for Wilcox, Francis Hatch for the Government. When the all-Hawaiian jury filed into the jury box the foreigners present noted that its members appeared to be highly elated. In this final act of the drama, as all present knew, full power would be in the hands of the Hawaiians.

First witness was Captain Parker, who said: "Mr. Wilcox came into the palace and bid me good morning. He asked me where the cannons are and I told him I do not know. So I went to the barracks and ask Captain Kahalewai, who told me, 'Try to hold the palace but if you can't, that's all.'" That was the end of his testimony, but on this evidence Captain Kahalewai was charged with treason.

Wilcox strode to the stand, head high. The jury leaned forward with eager anticipation and some called out "Aloha!" The judge banged his gavel for order. As Wilcox took the oath he looked disdainfully at the prosecutor. He repeated the things he had said when first charged: his intention of restoring the rights of the people; no bloodshed intended; guns carried for appearances; his talk with Parker; and, finally, the first shots fired from the opera house.

Repeatedly throughout his testimony Hawaiians in the hall applauded lustily and shouted "*Kokua!*" (We agree), joined at times by members of the jury. After trying vainly to stop them, the judge ruled that the next person who applauded would be arrested and carried off to jail. The people laughed heartily. The judge scowled.

When prosecutor Hatch began his argument, members of the jury leaned forward, their faces expressing pleasurable anticipation. That they had a definite plan of action was soon evident. At the end of his first sentence juror Pipikane interrupted: "Were you there?" The rest of the jury laughed lustily at the attorney's discomfiture. The judge banged his gavel and reprimanded them again while repressed laughter rippled through the hall.

Hatch resumed his speech, only to be interrupted by another juror with a question which was, complained Prosecutor Hatch, "based on nothing in the testimony." Threatening to dismiss the entire jury unless interruptions ceased, Justice Judd said: "This is conduct of the worst sort."

Again Attorney Hatch tried to proceed with his case only to be heckled by one juror after another while Hawaiians in the hall rocked with laughter. Thoroughly angered, Justice Judd dismissed the jury and declared a mistrial which, under the law, freed the prisoner. But the Hawaiians, enjoying their moment of power, were not to be cheated out of their fun. Refusing to accept the judge's decision, Defense Attorney Rosa said:

"When a prisoner has been arraigned and tried upon a valid indictment he is entitled to a verdict of a jury before being discharged." And the judge, admitting the truth of his contention, reluctantly called for a new trial.

When the case came to court again both the prosecutor



and the judge, wary of the new jurors who filed into the jury box with the now familiar glint in their eyes, merely went through the motion of a hearing, with as little as possible said to arouse the risibilities of jurors and onlookers. At the close, Justice Judd, reminding the jurors that they were under oath to uphold the law, said if they acquitted Wilcox: "You will have to ignore all the evidence against him. . . . The facts which the Crown has presented are not disputed by any evidence presented by the defense. Gentlemen, the country expects you to do your duty."

The jury filed out. Then they filed back in and with ill-suppressed delight foreman Nakamu announced the verdict in a loud, ringing voice: *Not guilty!* The shout that went up from the Hall of Justice reverberated for blocks.

The Reform newspapers called the verdict "disgraceful . . . mortifying." But when the story reached the United States the papers there were unanimously on the side of the Hawaiians. San Francisco papers said "Wilcox should be given the opportunity owed him originally." So general was the volume of criticism against the Reformers that the Privy Council freed Ho Fon and commuted the sentence of Loomens to a year in prison and banishment from Hawaii.

When the commotion was all over the Hawaiians, in a gathering at the home of Princess Liliuokalani, agreed that their losses had been balanced by many gains. They now had proof that many *haoles* in the Islands were on their side; that the Chinese and Portuguese were their loyal friends, and that the American people always sided with them when the facts were presented truthfully. Moreover, they had gained strength and courage from the realization that within themselves was a growing confidence in their ability to fight their own battles despite the abortive revolt.

"Someday," cried Wilcox dramatically, "victory will be ours and we will be masters of our own land again. The spirit of the great Garibaldi will lead us!"

## CHAPTER 25

### The Hawaiians Win an Election

JOLTED by the Wilcox demonstration and the upsurge of native Hawaiian confidence, the Reformers faced the 1890 election with trepidation. It was obvious they had lost many of their erstwhile supporters. The Portuguese laborers, by whose votes they had won in 1888, were now disfranchised along with thousands of others by means of the new constitution which restricted the vote to the well to do. They were now organized under able Augustine Marquis whose sympathies were entirely with the Hawaiians.

Also turned against the Reformers was their former following of skilled mechanics, men from the British Isles, Europe, and America. Originally won to the Reformers' side by the lurid *Gazette* allegations of scandals in Government, they had played an important part in the "Bayonet Revolution." Now, thoroughly disillusioned and convinced they had been deceived about the "opium bribe," they had organized a Mechanics Union pledged to work for "true reforms," which they felt sure would never be brought about under the present regime.

The Hawaiians had united in the *Hui Kalai-aina*, dedicated to "freeing our government from usurpers," and in support of this purpose wealthy Chinese had given employment to hundreds of them for the past year at wages suffi-

ciently high to enable them to meet the property qualifications for voting. This meant that control of the Legislature was no longer assured to the Reformers. Calling the opposition, scornfully, "the Gibsonites," the *Gazette* said: "It was a great mistake to suppose the country was rid of Walter Murray Gibson when he died. His ghost still lives and reigns . . . to plague us." The editor pleaded with "men of integrity like Lucas and Macfarland" not to ally themselves with "a criminal like Wilcox."

The final list of candidates for the "Gibsonites" included not only Hawaiians but Americans, Britishers, Portuguese, and one German. Their platform called for "Absolute independence of the kingdom; revision of the Constitution; rigid laws against opium now being seized and privately sold by Customs employees; and immediate, stringent measures against the importation of Japanese." Declared Judge John Kalua of Maui: "They are turning our homeland into a Japanese state and we are being pushed aside as if we were nothing in this land of our fathers." Retorted the *Gazette*: "The Hawaiians are wrought up to an unreasonable state of mind."

Nonetheless, the labor question aroused so much angry debate during the campaign that the Reformers made a definite pledge to keep all Japanese on the plantations: "Any who leave, will be deported at once. We will never allow them to control these islands as the Gibsonites are charging."

Robert Wilcox was the final speaker for the Gibsonites on the night before election. As he strode to the platform he was greeted with thunderous applause. In fine fettle he grew increasingly dramatic as he outlined the ills of his country:

"I have been accused by the Reformers of hating the

white man—but I myself am half-white; I married a *haole* woman and have lived in Europe where I associated only with white people. I have lived in America also and I know the true American people. They are kind and good, their hearts always on the side of the downtrodden. . . . Walter Murray Gibson was the *true* American. . . . Today our homeland is being run not for the good of the people but to enhance the wealth of the few. . . . A vessel is off port now with 1,000 Japanese brought here to compete with us. . . . The time has come to assert our rights.”

Urging his listeners to vote on election day he said: “Lie if necessary about your financial condition. . . . Remember this is the land of our fathers; we are the only ones who truly love it. . . . If we don’t win this time never again will a Hawaiian sit in the Legislature.”

He closed with a fervent peroration: “Stand by, O my people! Right shall win in the end!”

When he sat down he was cheered to the echo. Said the *Gazette*: “Wilcox is a demagogue like Gibson but not so smart.”

Though fearful of the outcome, the Reformers were unprepared for the extent of their defeat. Despite strict planter control, the Gibsonites won many seats on the outer islands and all on Oahu except that of Britisher Cecil Brown who was considered “friendly to Hawaiians” as was also the Kauai delegation of George and Albert Wilcox, Paul Isenburg, William Rice, and Valdemar Knudsen.

Cried Wilcox: “Hawaii is now safe! Those who dream of becoming senators from the state of Hawaii to Washington are finished!”

When the Legislature opened on May 21, the Hawaiians were prepared with a long list of bills the first of which was “To prevent the Missionaries from ever again importing



arms." The next provided that "No more people from any other countries be permitted to enter this kingdom." The third, "Election of all Cabinet officers and removal of all property qualifications for voting." Another called for removal of "all restrictions on Hawaiians for practicing medicine."

Representative John Kalua of Maui then introduced a resolution that was to cause many days of debate and lead to subjects far afield. It demanded that the prime minister place before the Legislature all correspondence with Washington regarding treaties with the United States. "If we get their records we will have proof of attempts at annexation. They are angry with Attorney General Ashford because he says the treaty they propose . . . is prejudicial to independence of Hawaii as a sovereign state."

When questioned, Minister Thurston admitted "We do not trust Ashford . . . because of certain rulings siding with the king. . . . He is in open hostility to the rest of the Cabinet but refuses to resign. . . . We all suspect him of conniving with Wilcox in the recent insurrection."

Ashford asked permission to reply. "Their speeches are always timed to make the next boat to America, I want my reply to go out on the same 'steamer edition.'" Thurston's hostility to him and his brother, he said, arose when the Citizens' League was formed in 1887. Thurston wanted to overthrow the monarchy then and set up a republic; they were opposed. "It came out at a meeting that all officers of the new Republic were to be servants of C. Brewer & Co., with Mr. Daniel Foster as president of the Republic. Later, when they wanted V. V. to assist them in the Bayonet Revolution, they went to him on their bellies. . . . Then, as soon as the revolt was over, they turned against him.

"Because I refuse to be a scullion in their political kitchen they have now turned against me . . . because I will not go along with their plan for turning this country over to the United States. . . . They say V. V. has 'the old Gibson viewpoint' and warn that if we do not go along we will be damned out of the country."

Wilcox then took the floor to tell of a conversation he overheard between W. R. Castle and Princess Liliuokalani when he was staying at her home in Palama: "I listened from an adjoining room while Mr. Castle outlined a plan for ousting King Kalakaua and putting her on the throne, on condition that she would 'accept our terms' . . . otherwise, he said, the monarchy would be overthrown and a republic set up. The princess refused to accept his proposition." Closing with "I have been warned that I am to be killed, but I am afraid of nothing but my God," he sat down to cheers from Hawaiians.

German Representative H. A. Widemann entered the discussion saying he had been asked to assist in the plot to overthrow the monarchy but had refused. Foster, he said, was to act as a front for the planters who were to rule behind the scenes. "The purpose was to fool the American people into thinking that the revolt was a spontaneous movement by all the people of Hawaii."

When Widemann sat down, Representative Charles J. McCarthy (American) rose to say that the Cabinet should be dismissed since "this Ministry was defeated at the polls." Wilcox added, "They should all be tried for treason."

Entering the debate at this point was an independent sugar planter from the island of Hawaii, Representative William H. Rickard, an Englishman who had lived in Hawaii since 1887 and was one of those who remained on friendly terms with both planters and Hawaiians. Asking

the natives not to become emotional and say things to offend America, he explained: "We are dealing with a country which has always been our good friend. . . . I have as much *aloha* for this country as any Hawaiian and I am sure the matter can be worked out amicably. . . ."

In response to his gentle admonitions, the Hawaiians agreed not to push the investigation, but they voted unanimously to dismiss the Cabinet. So, as required by law, the king dismissed the Reform ministers and appointed their successors, who were promptly confirmed by the Legislature. Anglo-Hawaiian John A. Cummins was made Minister of Foreign Affairs; Britisher Godfrey Brown, Finance; American Charles Spencer, Interior, and A. P. Peterson, an able New England lawyer, Attorney General. In a special election to fill the seat in the House of Nobles vacated by appointment of Cummins to the Cabinet, the Reformers nominated Britisher Alexander Young who was elected because of the Hawaiians' high regard for him.

A mass meeting of all races was held to demand repeal of the "Bayonet Constitution." Each speaker roundly denounced its injustice. Wilcox warned against continued efforts for annexation "pushed by those who hope for financial gains and others who wish to sit in the U.S. Senate. . . . It is a title that excites their ambitions." He warned also against the machinations of the new American Minister John L. Stevens who, in a demagogic Fourth-of-July address, had talked of "America's manifest destiny in the Pacific."

"Beware of him," said Wilcox; "he is on the side of the Missionaries." Said Representative Kalua, "It is well for us that he has shown his hand so soon."

When the king arrived to prorogue the Legislature on November 14 many of his subjects were shocked to note

his appearance of ill health. His voice broke as he concluded, "I pray the Almighty that He continue to protect Our Beloved Country." A few days later it was announced that he would sail on November 25 for San Francisco to consult American physicians.

On the night before the king was to leave he invited his special group of singing girls to the palace. Seated on a *pune'e*, with an arm around his wife, he listened happily to their songs. Among the singers was a tall, handsome girl, Kini Kapahukula Huhu, affectionately called "Lady Jane" by His Majesty. Her vivacious personality, accentuated by flashing black eyes and animated face framed by a mass of wavy black hair, made her a court favorite and the special pride of her sponsor, the king.

After singing a special bon voyage song she had written for him, Kini said "And when you return, Your Majesty, I shall have other verses telling of our happiness at having you with us again." He promised "I shall not be long away from my beloved land and people."

At two o'clock the following afternoon the king, accompanied by Governor Dominis, Governor Cleghorn, and Chamberlain George Macfarland, boarded the USS *Charleston* assigned by the United States Government to take him to San Francisco. Thousands came to bid him *aloha*, Hawaiians bearing gifts and flowers; Portuguese singers; Chinese who erected a colorful pavilion in his honor. Present also were cabinet members, government officials, and foreign diplomats. The harbor was gay with decorations; all ships in port were dressed. Reported the *Elele*: "The air was filled with affection and concern for Our Beloved David."

Over the *Charleston* floated the Royal Hawaiian standard and as His Majesty stepped aboard cannons boomed and



the ship's band played *Hawai'i Pono'i*. A fleet of small vessels bearing intimate friends and serenaders accompanied the ship far out to sea, filling the air with Hawaiian melody.

## CHAPTER 26

### Queen Liliuokalani

A TREMENDOUS ovation welcomed King Kalakaua to San Francisco on December 3, 1890. Greeted by thousands as he came ashore from the USS *Charleston* he was given an official escort to the Palace Hotel where he told newsmen he had come to California for a rest. Conditions in the Islands, he said, were good even though the planters were worried about the McKinley Tariff Act which, by giving a two cents' bounty to American sugar growers, would wipe out advantages to Hawaiian planters over other foreign producers. He expressed hope that the problem could be solved by means of another treaty.

Said one newsman: "The welfare of his country is always uppermost in the mind of King Kalakaua."

Invitations came from all parts of the state. "People everywhere vied for the honor of entertaining him," reported one newspaper. The Southern Pacific Railway placed a private car at his disposal and everywhere he traveled "the people took him to their hearts." His trip to southern California "proved to be a series of fetes, dinners, and receptions that taxed his energies greatly." In Santa Barbara he caught a severe cold and returned at once to San Francisco, "but the people insisted upon lavishing attentions upon him . . . and he was reluctant to refuse them." His

cold grew worse. He wrote Queen Consort Kapiolani that he would sail for Hawaii January 20 on the *Charleston*, again placed at his disposal by the United States Government.

On January 13 a large public reception was given in his honor. This was followed in the evening by a Masonic banquet from which he returned to his hotel completely exhausted. That night he became seriously ill and Dr. Woods, of the *Charleston*, pronounced it advanced Bright's disease. He grew rapidly worse. Death closed in swiftly, and on the night of January 20 the gallant soul of Hawaii's Merrie Monarch, who had loved life so fervently, took flight to the land of Ka-ne.

Said the San Francisco *Examiner*: "Admiral Brown took his post at the bedside of his dying friend and remained there till the end. . . . During the last forty-eight hours [the king] was totally unconscious. His last words in English were spoken to Admiral Brown. After that he murmured a few Hawaiian words of endearment to Colonel Baker, lapsing into his last sleep soon afterward."

Surrounding his couch at the last were his aides, Colonel Macfarland and Colonel Hoapili Baker, Admiral George Brown, Dr. Woods, Charles R. Bishop, Claus Spreckels, and two Hawaiian servants.

Wrote Henry Bigelow in the *Examiner*: "Sorrow for the dead monarch was universal. . . . All public buildings were closed, courts were adjourned, flags flew at half-mast. . . . The funeral services, under the supervision of the mayor and the Board of Supervisors, were on a scale that has never been equaled on the Pacific coast."

Among those taking part were public officials, Masonic and civic organizations, and a United States military escort of marines and cavalry. More than 100,000 people lined

the streets as the funeral cortege moved slowly from Trinity Church to the Washington Street wharf. "Minute guns were fired for an hour, answered each time by guns from ships in the harbor. . . . At four o'clock the casket was placed on the *Charleston*, the band played the Hawaiian national anthem . . . and the ship steamed majestically out of the harbor on its sorrowful mission."

Honolulu was astir with pleasurable anticipation on the morning of January 29, for the *Charleston* was expected sometime during the day and the city was decorated as if for a fiesta. In the dim light of dawn the official lookout at Diamond Head sighted the vessel and so notified the palace. But as the ship came nearer he was horrified to note her yards acockbill, her flag at half-mast.

He telephoned at once to Premier Cummins. The news spread quickly. Flags went to half-mast. Arches and buildings, decorated so gaily the day before, were hastily draped in black. A deathlike pall fell over the city as people gathered in small groups, grief-stricken.

When the mourning-dressed *Charleston* moved into Honolulu Harbor the great crowd lining the water front stood silent. The casket, borne by American seamen, was carried ashore. Then, said the *Bulletin*, ". . . as the casket was carried under the archway prepared for the welcome—now swathed in black—the sky became clouded and the heavens wept with the people."

As the cortege moved slowly through the streets to a dirge by the *Charleston's* band, the mournful music seemed an obbligate to the native wailing. Riding directly behind the catafalque, the Lane brothers, John and Lot Kamehameha, noted a myriad of small "display rainbows" playing over the top of the casket, and as the procession passed into

the palace grounds under the grand archway "with the surmounting crown scarcely visible through its web of woe" a brilliant triple rainbow formed above the palace, "as if embracing it," there to remain until after the casket had been carried into the building.

Early next morning Princess Regent Liliuokalani was summoned to the Blue Room in Iolani Palace to find there assembled members of the Supreme Court, the Cabinet, and the Privy Council. Chief Justice Judd told her they had come to administer the oath of office. "I asked why the proceedings could not be deferred until after my brother's funeral, but ere I realized what was involved I was compelled to take the oath to the Constitution, the institution of which had brought about the death of my brother," she wrote in *Hawaii's Story*.

Heralds at once announced by proclamation that she was now "Queen of the Hawaiian Islands under the title of Liliuokalani."

"The nation feels her sorrow is deeper than mere words," said the *Bulletin*. "He was a true and loyal king and . . . he died as he had lived, with an eye single to national advancement. . . . Hawaii is filled with mourning. . . ."

On February 15 final services were held in the throne room, the Rt. Rev. Alfred Willis, Episcopal Bishop of Honolulu, officiating. Over the casket lay the golden cloak of Kamehameha. Upon a velvet cushion at the side were the crown, scepter, decorations, and crown jewels, and at the head stood a sacred heirloom *kahili*, *Ka-olo-haka*, while on either side, ten majestic ancestral *kahilis* were held by bearers.

There was continuous muted singing by native choirs until Bishop Willis opened the service with the reading of



"I am the Resurrection and the Life." At its close, Queen Liliuokalani chanted an ancient *mele*. And all the while the Queen Dowager sat motionless at the head of the casket, her face covered with a fan.

Over a rush-covered roadway the lengthy funeral procession moved slowly in the following order up the valley to the Royal Mausoleum: the late king's black charger, saddle reversed, in charge of two equerries; the Hon. Hoapili Baker, bearer of the crown jewels, and Chamberlain McFarland, followed by four torch bearers; "Then the gloomily grand catafalque drawn by 150 Native Sons of Hawaii . . . flanked by 100 *kahili* bearers presenting a vision of a moving forest of giant trees from fairyland . . . a picture of incomparable pomp," said the *Bulletin*.

Carriages of the royal family were followed by those of intimate friends, government officials, diplomats, the Masonic Order, Knights of Pythias, Odd Fellows, American Legion of Honor (of which the king was an honorary member), Hawaiian, Portuguese, and Chinese societies; the fire department, boating clubs, and many other smaller organizations and groups of school children, including one from the Mormon settlement, each of whom carried one white flower.

Most colorful of all were the Hawaiian societies: *Ka Ho'oulu Lahui*, *Ka Lei Mamo*, and *Ka Hale Nau-a* led by High Priest Auld carrying upon a velvet cushion the sacred calabash, a feather helmet, and a tabu stick. When the services were over, the calabash was placed on the casket, then four large *kahilis* were planted in front of the tomb, there to remain until the last feather was blown away.

Wrote editor Dan Logan of the *Bulletin*: "The torch that burns at midday has been quenched."

King Kalakaua's will directed that Princess Kaiulani be named heir to the throne following Liliuokalani, and next in line "His Royal Highness David Kawanakoa and the heirs of his body."

When the *Charleston* prepared to leave Honolulu more than two hundred Hawaiians visited the ship to thank Admiral Brown for his kindness to their king. To them he said: "The services I rendered were from my country to a worthy monarch of a proud nation . . . you must always revere his memory for he was worthy of your adoration." The admiral's personal devotion to His late Majesty, said the *Bulletin*, "has won the love and gratitude of all Hawaiians . . . and America's courteous treatment has made them think kindly of the United States."

Although the great majority of Hawaii's people mourned the passing of their sovereign with genuine grief, his enemies continued their attacks even beyond the grave. A story was sent to the San Francisco papers: "Kalakaua's own *kahunas* prayed him to death as they did also his sister Likelike." Only one paper published the story; in refusing to use it one said: "We are familiar with such hoaxes put out by a certain group in Hawaii."

Meanwhile in Hawaii that "certain group" was demanding that Queen Liliuokalani retain the Cabinet already in office instead of appointing one of her own choosing. When she refused, the *Advertiser* said angrily: "Gibson started this aggression upon the rights of the people for the purpose of concentrating power in the throne." The Supreme Court confirmed the queen's stand and the *Bulletin*, praising her "dignity and cool judgment," said, "She has shown herself a queen worthy of the nation."

Late in April Queen Liliuokalani took the traditional tour of the Islands made by each new ruler. Reported the *Bulletin*: "The spontaneous outbursts of love for her defy the tales being sent abroad by malicious papers in Honolulu which claim there is a strong feeling against her here. . . ." Nevertheless, the Reform papers continued to plant stories in America defaming her and a visitor to the Islands expressed sympathy for her endeavor to steer a safe course between demands of the Reformers and those of the Hawaiians.

In the midst of these difficulties a crushing blow was dealt the queen by the death of her husband, American John Owen Dominis, who had been in failing health for several years. On August 27, as she sat by his bedside, the wise and gentle man, whose wisdom had carried her through many periods of stress and strain, died quietly.

"Just at the time I was to need most greatly his guiding hand," she wrote in her memoirs.

## CHAPTER 27

### Queen's Strength Frightens the "Reformers"

IN the months following Queen Liliuokalani's accession all save the most prejudiced of the Reformers praised her ability, integrity, and fine intelligence. The Rev. Sereno Bishop, editor of the *Friend*, to whom she had made frequent and generous contributions for charity, wrote: "Her whole life has been spent in working for the uplift of her

people. . . . Her gentle and gracious demeanor, her good sense and fine culture have commanded the high regard of the foreign community. We have confidence in her integrity of purpose, her benevolent patriotism."

A reporter for the San Francisco *Chronicle* wrote that she was the most able monarch the kingdom had ever had: "She will make a good sovereign." All agreed that she had none of the weaknesses of her brother, King Kalakaua, caring neither for frivolities nor extravagances. "Her life is dedicated solely to the welfare of the people and the good of the nation," wrote one foreigner. As evidence of her intention to recognize all factions, she appointed a number of eminent Reformers to positions of trust, among them missionary-son William H. Rice as governor of the island of Kauai.

In an effort to strengthen her own people the queen made plans for placing them back on the land. Opening up several thousand acres of crown lands on the island of Hawaii, she arranged that all rentals be waived for a few years to encourage settlement, after which the leaseholder was to pay only one dollar a year for a ten-acre plot. The land was quickly taken up and, said the *Bulletin*, "The queen's plan of colonization will become one of the most important land transactions in the history of the kingdom. . . . She is leasing crown lands, not in large tracts to planters but in small lots . . . that is the way to diversified industries." She announced that all income from crown lands thereafter would be used as an endowment for the Liliuokalani Educational Fund.

This utilization of the crown lands did not please the Reformers, and their newspapers set up a cry for "nationalization of all crown lands. . . . Instead of leasing them to Hawaiians they should be given outright as in the *Mahele*."



This brought prompt protest from Hawaiians who recalled how they had been tricked out of their *Mahele* lands: "Any land given to Hawaiians," said Mr. Kalana, "should carry the provision that it can never be sold." The *Bulletin* agreed: "If the crown lands are released they will become the prey of greedy speculators."

As the legislative campaign of 1892 approached, a new political party entered the field sponsored and financed, it was said, by the Reformers in order to split the Royalists. The leaders were a group of malcontents: Robert Wilcox, angry because he had not been included in the queen's Cabinet; John E. Bush, at outs with everyone since returning from his disastrous Samoan mission; Missourian D. L. Hunstman, a newcomer to the political scene; and the Ashford brothers, described by Paul Neumann as "professional repenters—always asking forgiveness for what they did the year before."

Candidate Clarence Ashford promptly attacked Reform leader Lorrin A. Thurston, whom he charged with giving away government lands to "his cousins" while Minister of Interior. Naming names, times, places, and individuals who benefited, Ashford demanded that Thurston meet him in public debate. When Thurston made caustic reply, Ashford made other exposés of behind-the-scene Cabinet activities, giving names of those who, he charged, made fortunes in smuggling opium during the Reform regime: "Those who denounced the opium bribe the loudest were the ones who gave bribes to get crown-land leases from the Commissioners."

Disgusted with the backfiring of their plan to disrupt the Royalists and knowing they could win few, if any, seats on Oahu, leading Reform candidates ran for office from the outer islands but continued to support some of the Liberal

candidates in the confident belief that their extreme tactics would disrupt the Legislature and provide an excuse for asking intervention by America. This strategy was explained to a *Bulletin* reporter "by a Fort Street merchant who asked that his name not be used."

At a meeting of the Royalists, chairman Lot Kaulukou asked the speakers to "cry out to the world that we are against annexation to the United States or to any other country. . . ." Said Joseph Poepoe: "The foreigners suggest that under a republic we could elect a Hawaiian president . . . let us not stick our necks into a noose like that. It is like their soft talk about the *Mahele*. Let us kill this poison."

"The United States is not behind this move," said Mr. Lilikalani. "America is our friend, she wants us to be happy, and if the foreigners tried to make Hawaii a republic and we Hawaiians objected, America would side with us and call them idiots!" Several Americans joined in the discussion, all in agreement with the Hawaiians. Said Captain John Ross: "This is your land. Hold on to that and act like free Americans!" Cried Patrick O'Sullivan: "May the Hawaiian flag float a thousand years!"

All speakers demanded the end of Japanese immigration: "They are swarming all over the land . . . putting up white flags with red meat balls on them." One said: "They are always marching in a body to the Japanese consulate to make complaints"; another: "Let us have a platform so tight no cheap labor for sugar barons can creep in."

Said witty Paul Neumann: "Oh, let the sugar barons live but keep them under control. . . . After they have taken in their \$1,000 a day they are willing for the rest of us to have some crumbs!" As to annexation, he said: "I hate to see Hawaii acting like a streetwalker, begging America to

take her in. . . . The United States never asked for these islands . . . the talk all comes from the [sugar] bounty wanters."

Repeated references during the campaign to the two-cent bounty provided by the McKinley Act for United States sugar growers attracted the attention of American newspapers, prompting the *Boston Globe* to make sarcastic comment on "the desire of the Hawaiian sugar planters for a slice of our bounty." The San Francisco *Chronicle* felt "this eagerness for the bounty . . . makes the question of annexation debatable as to its desirability." In Honolulu the *Bulletin* denounced "those who would become traitors for the transient benefit of two cents a pound on sugar."

As the campaign drew to a close the inflammatory speeches of the Liberals furnished an excuse for the Reformers' request that America "send a warship to keep peace on election day." The request was denied, and election day, February 4, passed quietly with no disturbances whatsoever.

The Royalists won a slim majority in both houses. Elected also were Wilcox, Ashford, and a few of their followers. The Reformers won their customary seats on the outer islands with the exception of one on Maui where the late King Kalakaua's good friend William Cornwell won despite the bitter fight made against him.

Shortly afterward a rumor spread that the Reformers were financing a revolt against the queen to be led by the Liberals. The *Bulletin*, exposing the plot, warned Hawaiians against being misled "by those who are trying to incite discontent . . . under guise of helping the Hawaiians." On May 19 the Government moved suddenly to arrest Robert Wilcox, V. V. Ashford, and D. L. Hunstman on charges of "plotting to overthrow the Government." No one was

surprised when all were discharged by the Supreme Court. The rumor that they would be well paid seemed justified by the announcement that Wilcox and Hunstman were starting a new paper, the *Liberal*, to be printed by the *Gazette*.

Queen Liliuokalani's speech opening the Legislature called for many reductions in government expenses, headed by a cut of her own privy purse by \$10,000. Her attempts to placate her enemies were, however, in vain. Reformers and Liberals kept up a constant turmoil. Charges of "irregularities" brought against Marshal of the Kingdom Charles B. Wilson were proven false and dropped. Appropriations for the continued education of Princess Kaiulani, for furniture for the palace, an entertainment fund for the throne, and \$50,000 for the Queen's Guard were all fought. The Reformers insisted that the Guard be abolished.

The Hawaiians, fearing this attempt to abolish the Household Guards foretold possible physical violence to the queen, formed an organization, *Aloha Aina Oiaio* (True Patriots) from which groups of stalwart young Hawaiians were assigned to guard her at the palace day and night. Among the first chosen were the six Irish-Hawaiian Lane sons, brothers of Jessie Kaae.

When the queen appointed Paul Neumann Attorney General, Lorrin A. Thurston asked that the entire Cabinet be removed "before that wily old fox . . . has time to throw dirt in the eyes of the people." Two days later, in an "adroit coup," the combined Reformers and Liberals brought about defeat of the Cabinet.

The queen appointed a new one which was promptly rejected by the same combination; then another. It, too, was rejected. All the while the Reform papers were sending lurid stories to the United States about "turmoil in the



Islands . . . queen unable to form Cabinet . . . serious rioting narrowly averted on election day." The Reformers demanded a cabinet "from the group in power." Minister Macfarland informed them that the queen was trying earnestly to form a cabinet but would "refuse to accept open annexationists."

Throughout this acrimonious debate the Reformers flung "Royalist" at their opponents as if it were a vicious word. Replied Representative Cornwell from Maui: "I feel proud of being denounced as a loyal subject of Her Majesty. . . . As long as the Hawaiian Islands are a monarchy we who have sworn allegiance to the sovereign must be either Royalists or traitors."

In an effort to break the stalemate the queen offered the Reformers two cabinet posts. They demanded all. Finally a compromise was agreed upon with Anglo-Hawaiian Mark Robinson, respected by all factions, heading the Cabinet as Prime Minister. Others were Americans P. C. Jones, George Wilcox (no relation to Robert), and Britisher Cecil Brown. Immediately Liberals Wilcox and Ashford sent up howls of rage, saying they had been promised places in the Cabinet in return for their support of the Reformers. Said the *Advertiser* coolly: "We made use of them as long as they were useful."

Thereafter quarrels on the floor of the Assembly between Ashford and Thurston were so violent that, said Paul Neumann, "people come daily to hear them. . . . It's better than a circus—and it's *free*! I myself often pay hack fare just to go down and hear them."

An attempt was now made to silence the voice of Dan Logan, fearless editor of the *Bulletin*. On a complaint filed by American Minister John L. Stevens, he was arrested on the charge of libel, based upon an editorial stating that

the USS *Boston*, then in Port, had failed to go to the aid of another American ship in distress.

From the moment of his arrival in Hawaii, Minister Stevens had declared himself a partisan of the "annexationists." Called a "rabble-rouser" by newspapers in his home state of Maine, he had been, in turn, a minister of the gospel, a newsman, and a politician. He set about at once to make himself a power in Hawaiian politics. However, Washington now stepped in and when the case came to trial Attorney Walter Frear, appearing as counsel for Stevens, asked that it be dropped. Commented the *Bulletin*, "dropped at the command of Washington."

Representative William White (Anglo-Hawaiian) of Maui now introduced two bills which were to cause a furor; one for establishing in Hawaii the Louisiana Lottery, recently outlawed in the United States; the other, a bill to license opium. The *Advertiser* said of the latter: "It is the best opium bill ever submitted to the House." But all of the Reformers opposed the Lottery Bill which was introduced with the statement: "It will enable us to get rid of the planters and their cheap labor." Immediately petitions urging its passage began to pour in from all parts of the Islands, signed by both Hawaiians and *haoles*.

Next, a bill was introduced calling for a constitutional convention to eliminate the property qualification for voting. When this was opposed by the Reformers, again petitions bearing thousands of names, *haole* and Hawaiian, arrived at Iolani Palace requesting the queen to follow the example of Kamehameha V and promulgate a new constitution.

In response to these petitions, signed by more than two thirds of her people, the queen, in consultation with her personal advisors, began working on a new constitution

which would eliminate the property qualification for voting, restore appointment of Nobles to the sovereign, and deny the franchise to those foreigners who were not naturalized nor married to Hawaiian women.

It was agreed that the new Constitution would be proclaimed by royal fiat, the announcement to be made immediately following the prorogation of the Legislature.

## CHAPTER 28

### Overthrow of the Monarchy

JANUARY, 1893, found the Legislature still in session with tensions and animosities increasing daily. The Liberal leaders, enraged by the tricks played upon them by their former sponsors the Reformers, and out for revenge, joined the opposition and again held the balance of power, able to put through any legislation they chose to support.

When the Lottery Franchise Bill came up for final vote its passage was assured by Representative White's fervent assurance that it would make the kingdom independent of the planters. The Opium Bill was carried to success by Representative Ashford's disclosure of the fortunes made by some of the Reformers in opium smuggling. Then, in a final slap at their former allies, the Liberals led a fight to throw out the Cabinet. By stressing the fact that only one part-Hawaiian was included in it, they won the support of the natives and were able to vote it out of office.

Thus did the Liberals wreak triumphant vengeance upon those who had broken their pledge to place Wilcox and Ashford in the Cabinet. Said the *Bulletin*: "A good Min-

istry goes down to defeat, killed by its own supporters." The queen then appointed a new cabinet composed of Anglo-Hawaiians Samuel Parker and John F. Colburn, and Americans William Cornwell and A. P. Peterson.

When the Lottery and Opium bills were presented to the queen she signed them, writing of the former: "We were petitioned to grant it by a majority of the people . . . its profits, unlike those from the sugar plantations which go only to the few, would have gone into general circulation among our people, spent on public works . . . thus bringing some little prosperity to our people such as that enjoyed by the foreigners."

In signing the Opium Bill she noted: "I think it would be wise to adopt measures for controlling a traffic it is impossible to suppress. With a Chinese population of over 20,000 persons it is impossible to prevent smuggling, bribery, corruption. . . . There have been many scandals connected with the opium traffic and some of the most prominent citizens have been connected with these affairs."

The Legislature adjourned on Saturday, January 14. Following her speech of prorogation, the queen invited its members and also those of the Supreme Court, and the foreign diplomats, to Iolani Palace for refreshments. As she withdrew, Representative Akina, president of the *Hui Kalai-aina*, rose from his seat and, carrying a copy of the new Constitution upon a velvet cushion, led the Hawaiian members of the Legislature in stately procession across King Street to the palace where they were ushered into the throne room. Others from the Legislative Hall, following, found the palace grounds thronged with Hawaiians eagerly awaiting this long-hoped-for moment when their queen would restore their rightful heritage.

Queen Liliuokalani had gone directly to the palace Blue



Room where she was still in conference with her ministers two of whom, after first agreeing with her plan for promulgation of the new Constitution, were now trying to persuade her that it would be "unwise to follow the illegal methods of the Reformers when they imposed the Bayonet Constitution." The changes, they argued, should be made only by a legally elected constitutional convention.

Shocked by this change of attitude, the queen protested that the revisions desired by the people could be made only by direct promulgation. For more than two hours the conference continued, the queen insisting upon immediate action, the ministers standing firm for postponement. Finally, rather than keep the people waiting longer, Her Majesty agreed, and all of them went out on the *land'i* to address the impatient throng.

Attorney General Peterson, speaking first, said that while respecting the wishes of the people for a new constitution, it had been decided that changes should be made "only by methods provided within the organic law." He asked everyone to depart quietly and make no trouble. Queen Liliuokalani then addressed them, saying:

"I have your petitions. I know your wishes and desires and I shall listen to your views—but I cannot move at this time. So return to your homes peaceably and quietly. Keep me in your love; you have mine. With sorrow I now dismiss you."

Reluctantly her subjects departed. They would respect the wishes of their queen. On Monday morning she issued a statement saying that no changes would be made in the Constitution except by legal process.

But already the "Annexation Club," formed secretly in the spring of 1892, had called a meeting for that after-

noon at the armory. When this became known, the Hawaiians called a mass meeting for the same hour in Palace Square of all who opposed annexation. Their proclamation: "O, ye descendants of Kamehameha, and all ye true-hearted people living in these islands—let us support our queen and consecrate our lives to the peace of the land; one loving heart in our breasts together."

More than a thousand persons attended the annexationist meeting at the armory but several thousands, composed of all nationalities, crowded into Palace Square where chairman Antone Rosa urged that they not "grow angry or aroused but continue in the peaceable way we Hawaiians have always followed." He presented a resolution pledging loyalty to the queen and promising to sustain her plan for seeking constitutional changes "only by legal means provided in the organic law."

The first speaker, Mr. Kaoua, reminded that the Reformers, after forcing King Kalakaua to "break his oath to sustain the Constitution and sign a new one, now call the queen an evil woman for wanting a new one." After two hours of patriotic oratory the crowd dispersed, agreed that "the whole matter has now been settled peaceably." Said Representative White: "The annexationists, now screaming at the armory, are crying out before they are hurt."

Meanwhile at the armory the Annexation Club speakers said the meeting had been called "To protect life, liberty, and property in Hawaii." Declaring the Islands to be in danger of "bloody revolution" they saw "evil portent" in the fact that the queen "is willing to overthrow the Constitution she swore to maintain." Said Lorrin A. Thurston: "There are rumors of riot and bloodshed. Whose fault is it? Queen Liliuokalani's! She has wantonly

put herself in the breach. It is not her fault that the streets have not run red with blood, but in spite of her wishes."

Sugar planter Henry Baldwin urged moderation: "We must not set an example by adopting revolutionary methods . . . we must act with prudence and judgment." He was quickly booed down to make way for inflammatory speakers who demanded the immediate overthrow of "this disgusting monarchy . . . which is a menace to our liberties." Shouted Mr. Thurston, "Gentlemen, I say now and here is the time to act!"

The "Committee of Safety" had previously made secret arrangements with American Minister Stevens that marines from the USS *Boston* were to be landed when requested and he, apparently eager to get matters started, had already arranged to have the marines ordered ashore at 5 P.M. of that same day. When they were seen marching up the street, the queen's Cabinet met quickly in conference with Governor Cleghorn of Oahu. After brief consultation, they went to the American consulate and asked Minister Stevens to explain the landing of United States troops.

Replied Stevens: "It is done at the request of the Committee of Safety," adding defiantly, "The troops are ashore and will stay ashore." Said Governor Cleghorn: "We shall make a most vigorous protest against this violation of international law, courtesy, and custom."

The government officials were apparently the only ones disturbed by sight of the marching marines; bystanders seemed indifferent and went about their business. At the Royal Hawaiian Hotel, near the palace, people enjoying an evening band concert went quietly home afterward to peaceful sleep, unaware of imminent danger. Everyone had grown accustomed to the Reformers' threats against

the throne but few believed they would go so far as to attempt overthrow of the monarchy.

But on that same night a meeting of great import was being held at the home of Henry Waterhouse, former Australian, now Honolulu, merchant. There the Committee of Safety was completing plans to overthrow the monarchy and set up a republic pending hoped-for annexation to the United States. Almost certainly there would be armed conflict, therefore of first importance was a man of proven ability, courage, and integrity to head their nascent militia and with sufficient influence among Hawaiians to minimize danger from Her Majesty's police and palace guard.

At a previous meeting they had offered this important post to British-born John Harris Soper, Marshal of the Kingdom, 1884-1886, but he had flatly refused to go along with their plans, agreeing with Judge Sanford Ballard Dole and Judge Alfred Hartwell, that it was unwise to destroy a monarchy which had the pledged protection of England and the United States for its independence. But at this second meeting, realizing that the committee was not to be deterred from its purpose, Soper agreed on condition that the new Government be headed by Judge Sanford B. Dole. Mr. C. Bolte was sent to bring the judge to the conference.

Soper and Dole had a long talk in the yard of the Waterhouse residence before joining the gathering. Dole still disapproved of the plan to abrogate the monarchy. On joining the meeting, he insisted that the queen be asked to retire in favor of her niece Princess Kaiulani and become one of a regency of five "to be selected from prominent Hawaiians and *haoles*" to advise and direct the young princess during her minority. "The little kingdom," he



said, "would have the full support of the United States and Great Britain; Hawaiians would know they had not lost their government, and the Islands would be welded into an ideal whole."

Judge Dole's plea was brusquely rejected by the committee which continued to insist that he head a new government. He asked time for consideration. The following morning he agreed to do so with the assistance of his friend John H. Soper as head of the militia. Judge Hartwell still declined to go along with the movement and took no part in the following events.

Government agents who had watched the gathering at the Waterhouse home reported to Marshal Wilson who asked the queen's permission to make arrests. Hoping to settle matters without bloodshed, she refused. However, when the Committee of Safety assembled at the office of W. O. Smith the following morning, Marshal Wilson posted a squad of policemen nearby with orders to arrest them if they started toward the palace.

The day wore on and nothing happened. The committee sat in Smith's law office; the policemen waited; small groups of Hawaiians stood talking quietly together in Palace Square. An oppressive quiet hung over the town.

Then suddenly, about 3 P.M., a pistol shot broke the silence and the policemen posted in front of Smith's office hastened to investigate, followed by the crowd waiting in Palace Square. With the way thus cleared, the conspirators then walked hurriedly to Ali'iolani Hale, the Administration Building, where their spokesman, American Henry A. Cooper, who had come to the Islands the previous year to make abstractions of land titles for the Reformers, read a proclamation abrogating the monarchy and declaring the establishment of a "Provisional Govern-

ment . . . until terms of a union with the United States have been negotiated and agreed upon."

The only ones who heard the reading of this momentous document were seventeen-year-old William Soper who had come in search of his father, and a few clerks within the building. Other residents of Honolulu were unaware of what was happening. According to prearrangements, two companies of volunteers immediately afterward occupied the grounds of Ali'iolani Hale and Palace Square.

The pistol shot which had facilitated carrying out the committee's plan had been fired by John Good, driver of a wagonload of ammunition being conveyed to their headquarters. Stopped by a lone policeman named Leialoha, who had grabbed the horses' reins, Good shot him through the arm, the bullet entering his left breast. Taken immediately to the Queen's Hospital by fellow policemen, Leialoha recovered, saving the committee from the charge of killing a Hawaiian during their seizure of power.

Meanwhile, at Ali'iolani Hale the committee had taken possession and demanded that the queen surrender authority. United States Minister Stevens recognized the "new government" and so notified the queen. Martial law was declared by the usurpers and an order issued that all arms must be turned in. Minister Stevens was asked for continued United States marine protection.

Announcement was made that the Islands would be governed by an executive council headed by Sanford B. Dole, with P. C. Jones Minister of Finance, Captain James A. King, Interior, and W. O. Smith, Attorney General. There would also be "an advisory council of fourteen with general legislative authority." The queen's Marshal Wilson was replaced by Colonel John H. Soper; the police sta-

tion house and army barracks were taken. One of the first laws proclaimed provided the "death penalty for an act of treason." Treason!

At 5 P.M. that same day a delegation called upon Queen Liliuokalani at Iolani Palace and demanded her abdication. Warned Samuel Damon: "If you resist, there will be bloodshed and a great many will be killed. You will probably be killed."

With rebel armed forces and United States marines patrolling the streets, the queen realized that resistance would be futile. Furthermore, she recalled that England had promptly repudiated similar action by Lord George Paulet who had seized the Hawaiian Government in 1843. So, with confidence that America would do likewise, and on advice of her lawyer Paul Neumann, the queen, on the following day, signed under protest:

I, Liliuokalani, by the Grace of God and under the Constitution of the Hawaiian Kingdom, Queen, do hereby solemnly protest against any and all acts done against myself and the Constitutional Government of the Hawaiian Kingdom by certain persons claiming to have established a Provisional Government of and for this Kingdom.

That I yield to the superior force of the United States of America whose Minister Plenipotentiary, His Excellency John L. Stevens, has caused the United States troops to be landed at Honolulu and declaring he would support such provisional government.

Now to avoid collision of armed forces and perhaps loss of life, I do, under this protest and impelled by such forces, yield my authority until such

time as the Government of the United States shall, upon the facts being presented to it, undo the action of its representative and reinstate me in the authority which I claim as the Constitutional Sovereign of the Hawaiian Islands.

Done at Honolulu this 17th day of January, 1893.

On leaving the palace Damon had told the queen that she might continue to reside there and display the royal Hawaiian ensign. On the following morning, however, a messenger arrived with the order that she was to "lower the ensign and cease to display it."

Jubilant at the ease of their victory, the Reformers boasted loudly through their newspaper, the *Advertiser*: "Tuesday, the seventeenth of January, will go down in history as one of the most eventful of all days in Hawaiian annals. The people, weary of conspiracies, usurpations, scandals, and encroachments upon their rights and liberties . . . have asserted the prerogative inherent in every people to determine their form of government and have done away with the monarchy."

The pro-Hawaiian papers, calling attention to the fact that "the people" referred to by the *Advertiser* comprised but a mere handful of the total population, advised calm, quiet, faith in the honor and integrity of the United States. "The queen's temperately worded document," said the *Bulletin*, "will impress America . . . well known [for her] sentiment of justice to the weak." Urging that nothing be done to provide ammunition for the other side, the editor promised that "time and patience will bring justice."

Subsequent *Bulletin* editorials, written in judicious tone, stressed the same thought and cited America's "worthily



won world-wide reputation for wisdom, justice, and moderation. . . . We have nothing to fear."

Said *Holomua* (Progress): "We exhort all loyal citizens to accept the situation in peaceful and calm manner and await the decision of the United States. . . . The spirit that governs the great American Republic assures everyone that justice will be done. . . . Avoid starting reports that might lead to disquietude."

In later years Lorrin A. Thurston wrote in his memoirs: "From the moment Liliuokalani came to the throne we planned to overthrow the monarchy. . . . The revelation can make no difference now." But at the time, Reform editors flooded America with lurid stories of having been forced to action "because of rioting, near-revolution . . . women and children afraid to appear on the street."

The *Bulletin* urged everyone to write to American friends and "give the true facts stating that no rioting or turmoil has taken place. . . . Those who write of the present conflict will be made—or unmade—by the verdict of the future. . . . Act then so that your conduct . . . will bear the fierce light of the scrutiny of the future. . . . Now is the time for men to show their true natures, whatever they may be." The editor urged the Hawaiians to "go your quiet, peaceful way. . . . Nothing has annoyed them so much as your dignified behavior."

Listing those high in the councils of the present government who had signed the Lottery Bill petition (among them J. S. McGrew, M.D., called the "Father of Annexation"), editor Logan pointed out that many eminent citizens had favored passage of both the Opium and Lottery bills now given by the Reformers as the reason for overthrow of the monarchy. As to the statement that the lottery was "destroying Island economy . . . even before the

bill was signed, the proposed Louisiana Lottery had already gone to Honduras, and Hawaii never even had an option on it . . . therefore it was never a danger to the Islands."

On January 18 the "PGs," as the leaders of the Provisional Government had been dubbed, announced they were sending a delegation to Washington to ask for annexation. The queen prepared to send Paul Neumann, Prince David Kawanānakoā, and E. C. Macfarland to represent her. To her amazement, when the planter-owned SS *Claudine* was ready to sail, her representatives were refused passage and forced to wait for an Australian ship, thus delaying their arrival in Washington until long after the PGs had presented their case.

This arbitrary act prompted a letter to the *Bulletin*, signed "American," asserting: "As sure as there is a God in heaven Uncle Sam will do justice to the queen. . . . When Uncle Sam draws the sword it will not be for a small minority but for the people as a whole." And John Sheldon, Anglo-Hawaiian editor of militant *Holomua*, wrote in memory of his American father: "Thou Great Nation, home of Truth and Bravery, Freedom's defender—we pray thee, hear us. Restore our Queen; restore our rights and help us to maintain them. The God of Nations will thee forever bless!"

On February 1, without his Government's knowledge, Minister Stevens authorized the raising of the American flag over Aliʻiolani Hale. This was done to the resounding boom of a salute from the USS *Boston*.

With their control now fully established, the PGs demanded that everyone take an oath of allegiance to the new government. Rather than swear allegiance, the Royal Hawaiian bandsmen resigned in a body. Bandmaster Berger then

tried to enlist Portuguese musicians, but they, too, refused to take the oath of allegiance, and in order to have an official band the PGs were forced to import musicians from California. "But the people refuse to go to hear the imported tootlers," said the *Bulletin*.

Former Hawaiian bandsmen then formed their own organization, calling themselves the National Hawaiian Band. Their first concert was given in the gardens of Washington Place, the queen's private residence, and hundreds of Hawaiians in attendance wept as the musicians poured their hearts into beloved Island melodies. The queen joined in singing the Hawaiian national anthem, *Hawai'i Pono'i*.

The following day the Government forbade further playing of the national anthem "without permission." Stopped also was the morning tolling of Kaumakapili Church bells, calling the people to prayers for the safety of the queen.

Wholesale removal of government workers, even down to the humblest road laborers, aroused a tempest of resentment. "This reckless removal of officials to make room for . . . friends and relatives of the PGs is not gaining good will for them," said the *Bulletin*. Letters from the outer islands told of "a reign of terror" as the planters ordered the people to sign the oath of allegiance "or get out of the island." Wrote someone: "The PGs now safe behind the breastworks, play the braggart, the sycophant, the despicable."

Demand for free treatment at the Queen's Hospital for all PGs brought reply from director F. A. Schaefer: "It is not within our power. . . . Free medical treatment can be given only to native Hawaiians."

In an effort to prove the righteousness of their cause, some of the PGs launched a campaign of personal attack against the queen. The Rev. Sereno Bishop, who had

previously heaped praise upon her, now denounced her in his weekly paper, the *Friend*, calling her "an idolater . . . an immoral woman . . . a believer in *kahunatism*." So vicious did his attacks become that British Consul Theo. H. Davies rebuked him, saying, "Such things weaken the bonds that have formerly united our race with the Pacific people."

No gentle appeal deterred him. In an article entitled "A dispassionate statement of the leading facts of the Revolt," he described Queen Liliuokalani as "a half-maddened queen, encouraged by *kahunas*," accused her of "heathen and mental vileness . . . foul heathen orgies at the palace . . . putrescent *hulas* . . . leprosy of incredible idolatries . . . deification of royalty . . . personal and political impurity."

"Only the uprising of wise, determined, and upright leaders," he said, "has redeemed Hawaii from the forces of heathendom."

"The Puritans are back at their witch burning," commented editor Sheldon of *Holomua*.

Following the PG order that she was to strike the palace royal ensign, the queen prepared to move to her private home, Washington Place, to which she had gone as a bride thirty years ago. Before doing so she had all of the royal treasures in the palace carefully packed and stored. Under her supervision, the jeweled crowns were replaced in the leather cases in which they had arrived from London and put in a tightly sealed box which was then hidden in the small tower atop the palace. All of her personal belongings were removed to Washington Place.

On February 24 the Provisional Government issued invitations to a great ball at the opera house in honor of Captain Wiltse of the USS *Boston*. The one to Queen



Liliuokalani was addressed to "Mrs. Dominis," and orders were given that she was to be addressed always in that manner.

Meanwhile in the United States the PG commissioners were being warmly welcomed. The American press, generally, was favorable to their mission, many papers rejoicing at "the voluntary overthrow of the Hawaiian Monarchy and the petition of the Hawaiian people for union with the United States." A South Carolina paper quoted Commissioner Charles Carter as saying "We want to join the Union but not as a state." Another commissioner explained that overthrow of the monarchy was necessary "to prevent the seizure of the Islands by Japan or England."

Although President Benjamin Harrison had been defeated in the recent election by Grover Cleveland, he ordered a treaty of annexation drawn and presented to the United States Senate. The opposition of some senators delayed action on the matter, and when President Cleveland came into office on March 4 one of his first acts was withdrawal of the treaty. Said Secretary of State Gresham, "It would lower our national standard to endorse a selfish and dishonorable scheme to acquire title [to the Islands] by force and violence."

One of the influences prompting President Cleveland's action was arrival from London, March 8, of Princess Kaiulani, eighteen-year-old heir to the Hawaiian throne. Immediately after the queen was deposed, the Hawaiian people had written her, pleading: "Only you can save us. You are Hawaii's hope. Go to Washington and present our plea for justice." She, overcoming her inherent shyness, said to her guardians, Mr. and Mrs. Theo H. Davies: "I must go lest someday my people say 'Kaiulani could have saved us but she did not try.'"

Kaiulani soon became the toast of Washington where her beauty and gracious manners won widespread admiration, particularly from President and Mrs. Cleveland by whom she was entertained at the White House. A newsman wrote of her: "She has a delicate, exquisite beauty; she is a finished musician, an artist, a linguist, and her gentle manners are those of a born aristocrat."

To the American people she issued a proclamation saying in part: "The crown is mine, and if the Americans are the noble-minded people I have learned to regard them as being, they will not be a party to the outrage by which I have lost my birthright."

Pro-annexation papers criticized her statement, saying it was written by Mr. Davies, but other papers defended her stand and had only words of praise for her. After President Cleveland appointed former Congressman James H. Blount of Georgia to go to Hawaii and "investigate the overthrow of the monarchy," the princess and her guardians returned to London where she was to complete the education planned to prepare her for the throne of Hawaii.

After Kaiulani's visit the efforts of the PG commissioners to portray Hawaiian royalty as "degraded heathen" was openly ridiculed and the tide began to turn against them. Wrote one newsman: "The whole proposition bears an ugly, hypocritical look." The New York *Herald* decided that the revolt was "of, by, and for sugar." The New York *Times* urged "a complete investigation," and the Sacramento *Bee* demanded "the immediate recall of Minister Stevens and the dishonorable discharge of Commander Wiltse of the USS *Boston*."

Senator Chandler of New Hampshire said: "To recognize them would be an outrage unworthy of our great Republic. . . . America will not degrade her soul for the purpose of

enriching a few adventurers in Hawaii." Said the *St. Louis Chronicle*: "The revolution was not a movement of the people but . . . by those who were not permitted by the queen to plunder the land."

With arrival in Washington of the queen's envoys, the criticism against the PG commissioners increased. News-men wrote of Neumann's "expression of ineffable shrewdness" as he moved quietly, smoothly to his task of destroying the picture built up by the PGs and substituting portrayal of a gentle people "unlawfully deprived of their right to their own form of government." *Harper's* and *Leslie's Weekly* magazines both came out strongly against "annexation itself and the tricks of the PGs," and the *New York Herald* said: "Mr. Thurston's threat . . . to deliver the Islands to England if the treaty is not ratified . . . is not quite nice."

Republication in Honolulu of these statements from American papers prompted passage of the PG "gag law." The first editor arrested under it was John Sheldon of *Holomua*, charged with "contempt of the Government." Said Clarence Ashford, defending him: "There is no longer any freedom in this land."

Britisher Carson Kenyon, replacing Sheldon as editor, continued criticism of the PG policies and he, too, was arrested, along with the editor of *Ke Leo* (The Voice). Both were locked up "in a filthy basement in the jail." The next editor of *Holomua* was Edmund Norrie, a Dane of extraordinarily brilliant mind and unbreakable will who was to become the avenging spirit against the ruthlessness of those in power.

Dan Logan, editor of the *Bulletin*, was next called before the Executive Council and "roasted." Apparently fearful of jailing so respected an adversary, they allowed Logan to go

free but an order went forth that anyone advertising in the *Bulletin* would be "disciplined."

Editor Norrie kept right on publishing reports from American papers in *Holomua*. When a San Francisco paper quoted W. D. Alexander as saying "restoration of the monarchy would result in bloodshed," Norrie asked: "Who would cause the revolution? Certainly not the Hawaiians . . . and of the 1,800 Americans in the Islands less than half favor annexation." He expressed confidence that "America will listen to the natives to the bitter end," and he praised "the gentlemanly manners of the United States marines" who continued to patrol Honolulu streets.

When word came from Washington that an investigator was being sent to the Islands, both sides girded for battle. The PGs set about organizing an Island-wide Annexation Club, but even with all the pressure they were able to exert fewer than 700 signatures were obtained, many of them, said one signer, being "extracted under threats of loss of jobs."

A joint meeting of the Hawaiian Patriotic League and the Civil Rights League (the latter organized by Clarence Ashford) drew thousands, many of them former PGs now disgruntled over "the division of spoils." The speakers, said the *Bulletin*, were "fervent and hopeful," expressing faith in America's justice and President Cleveland's integrity. "The playing of *Hawai'i Pono'i* brought the crowd to tears."

Eagerly, tensely, Hawaii awaited the arrival of Commissioner Blount.



## CHAPTER 29

America Officially Condemns  
the Usurpers

PRIOR to the arrival of Commissioner and Mrs. Blount, the Provisional Government took possession of Iolani Palace and, with the cry of "Let's do away with the trappings of royalty," their soldiers and henchmen looted the building from top to bottom while the Hawaiians, to whom the place was sacred, watched in horror the wanton desecration.

Beautiful full-length French gilt-framed mirrors were removed from the throne room and carted away to decorate the walls of private homes; small round mirrors embedded in the walls of the *lanā'i* were pried loose and used in the home of one of the ministers; Hawaiian national coat-of-arms insignia on the four ornamental iron gates of the palace grounds disappeared; the royal bedchambers and other rooms were stripped, and shortly thereafter *Holomua* reported that children of PG officials were carrying royal stationery to school. It was announced that all royal belongings would soon be sold at public auction.

Shortly afterward a rumor spread that the jewels had been removed from the royal crowns and divided among members of PG families. When Hawaiian newspapers demanded official confirmation or denial, the attorney general, admitting the jewels were gone, blamed PG soldiers: "they found the crowns in an old box in the basement." Reminded that the queen personally had supervised their stor-

age in the tower, he then blamed members of her household, saying to a *Holomua* reporter "We will ferret out this matter and if the trail leads to the queen as the receiver of stolen property she will be arrested under a law which provides for such offenses."

Retorted *Holomua*: "He knows perfectly well who has them . . . the insinuation is an attempt to throw suspicion on the queen."

The *Star*, a new newspaper, owned and financed by the Provisional Government, was launched. Its editor, J. S. McGrew, M.D., though an outspoken annexationist, was not an extremist and for that reason had been designated "The Father of Annexation" by those who preferred to remain anonymous. The *Star* editorials, vindictive in tone, were reportedly written by PG officials and Dr. McGrew's later withdrawal of his name as editor was said by the *Bulletin* to have been prompted by the "unseemly vagaries of that sheet."

The *Star* demanded deportation of the queen: "The only way to keep the natives from conspiring to put her back on the throne is . . . to get her out of the way. . . . Deport her under the law of undesirables."

"Colossal impudence!" said *Holomua*. But the *Star* continued its vindictive way, demanding, among other things, the sale of Iolani Palace for a hotel and the immediate seizure and division of all crown lands. Its crude, vulgar attacks upon the queen shocked decent people.

When Commissioner and Mrs. Blount arrived in Honolulu March 29 they were met by PG officials who offered them a house and carriage for the duration of their stay. Rejecting both, as well as the carriage sent by the queen to convey them to their lodgings, the Blounts took a public hack to the Royal Hawaiian Hotel, then adjacent to Iolani

Palace grounds. This incident was the opener for tense and turbulent events soon to follow.

England, America, and Japan had sent warships to Hawaii to watch proceedings. American newspapers sent their top-flight reporters, notable among them Charles Nordhoff of the New York *Herald Tribune*, whose brilliant, discerning dispatches were to stir the American people deeply and bring threats against his life from certain PG supporters in Honolulu.

Commissioner Blount's credentials from President Cleveland to Sanford B. Dole, head of the de-facto government, certified: "His authority is paramount," and the PGs soon learned that neither blandishments nor threats could divert him from his rigid sense of duty. At no time during his stay did he accept social invitations from either faction.

Two days after his arrival, Blount ordered Admiral J. S. Sheritt of the USS *Boston* (replacing Commander Wiltse who had died suddenly in California) to haul down the American flag over Ali'iolani Hale; to embark the American troops; and to withdraw the protectorate ordered by Minister Stevens without authority.

As the American flag came down Commissioner Blount got his first impression of the Hawaiian nature. A large crowd of natives had gathered to witness the ceremony. In absolute silence they watched the American flag come down and the Hawaiian flag run up. There were no cheers; no applause. Puzzled by this extraordinary behavior, Blount asked a Hawaiian why there was no evidence of rejoicing. He replied: "It would be discourteous to the United States, which is so good and honorable. We would not dishonor the American flag." Blount reported to Washington: "No one denies the dignity and good manners of the Hawaiians."

Immediately after Blount's arrival the PGs offered him a

long list of suggested witnesses. This he rejected, announcing that he would listen to all who wished to be heard, talking with them informally at first, then selecting for special written examination those whose information he considered of value. To Secretary of State Gresham he wrote: "In this manner I shall cautiously but surely find my way to the political feeling of all classes." He welcomed all comers for fifteen-minute interviews, "allowing them to speak freely but never confiding in them."

He had intended to delay his call upon Queen Liliuokalani until he had sized up the situation but to his shocked amazement the *Star* published a sensational story saying she had gone to him on the day of his arrival, dropped upon her knees, kissed his hand, wept, and begged him to restore her throne. Forthwith Blount called upon her and assured her that the absurd story had not come from his office. When the *Star* persisted that he was constantly conniving with her, Blount demanded an apology from Dole, saying such statements were "insulting to the United States Government." On receipt of what he termed "a very poor apology," he reported to Washington that rumors of plans for assassinating the queen "seem warranted by editorials" in the PG papers.

Some of the leading PGs refused to be interviewed personally by Blount but sent written reports. Those who did talk with him averred repeatedly that theirs was "the party of righteousness . . . versus the party of spoils," or, "an element of righteousness against an element of heathenism." One declared: "Heathenism is spreading like an ulcer eating into the vitals of the nation." Another said: "The queen wished to establish a barbaric despotism." Others gave detailed gossip about what they called her "immoral relations with Marshal Wilson."



Chief witness for the PGs was the Rev. Sereno Bishop who, beginning with the statement "It is unpleasant for me to speak evil of men," related gossip about Her Majesty and all members of the court. Saying the queen "surrounded herself with sorcerers," he depicted her as an ignorant, superstitious woman; spoke ominously of her "immoral behavior" and that of her friends. Of Cabinet Minister William Cornwell he said: "He is degraded in his personal character." Pressed for details, all he could offer was that Cornwell had "spoken kindly of the *hula*." Asked Blount, "You mean he goes to *hula* dances?"

"No," Bishop hedged, "but he publicly commends them . . . he says there is nothing wrong about them. . . ." Then he added ominously: "There were many idolatrous doings at the palace."

Such statements, Blount reported to Secretary Gresham, were typical of "their passionate and vindictive attitudes." He said he had learned that the Wilsons were the queen's most devoted and loyal friends, Mrs. Wilson being her lady in waiting; that Wilson was ten years the junior of Her Majesty and much in love with his wife. "He is a brave man and completely loyal to the queen."

As to PG charges that Wilson was "an opium smuggler," others had testified that "not a tin of opium disappeared while Wilson was Marshal of the Kingdom, while many fortunes were made out of it under the Reform Government." As proof, these witnesses pointed to the fact that Wilson had no money other than his salary and that the queen was educating his son John at Stanford University in California.

Of those who wished to speak against the PGs, Blount wrote: "A very large proportion are . . . Americans and Europeans who are anti-annexationists . . . there is no

annexationist in the Islands, as far as I have been able to observe, who would be willing to submit annexation to a popular vote." The Annexation Club refused Blount's repeated requests for a roster of membership. "They don't want him to see how small it is," said *Holomua*.

Among the foreigners who testified for the Hawaiians were several related to, but in disagreement with, the PG leaders, such as Joseph O. Carter who declared the gossip about the queen and Wilson was "an unmitigated lie." Those who now denounced her, he said, formerly sought her favors, went to the palace and invited her to their homes. He testified to the good character of William Cornwell and other cabinet members. When Cornwell was interviewed he said the Lottery Bill was supported by a majority of the Americans in the Islands and the Opium Bill was favored by practically all of the foreigners; the claim that their passage prompted the overthrow was sheer hypocrisy.

Charles T. Gulick, "cousin of the missionary Gulicks," went into lengthy detail on the character of those who instigated the revolt "and now screen themselves from identification by writing anonymous attacks upon the queen and the Hawaiians." Like many of the witnesses, he discussed Walter Murray Gibson, describing him as a brilliant man "who became the rallying point for the Hawaiians who, under his guidance and tutelage, were beginning . . . to assert their rights." He described the Reformers' efforts to get Gibson to join them "but Gibson was a player far their superior . . . after playing one crowd against the other he blandly . . . dropped both sides, stepped in, and took the bun himself. . . . The rage of the defeated contestants was truly pathetic!"

Gulick closed his statement with: "The bald fact stands out . . . that the sole prompting motive of the revolution

is . . . a lust for power coupled with the desire to possess the property of another without giving compensation."

George Trousseau, M.D., another witness, also discussed Gibson. "He matched the Missionaries in every move . . . and they hated him. . . . He was a man of ability, a thorough politician, and a dreamer." When the Opium and Lottery bills were introduced in the Legislature, said the doctor, "almost all of the foreigners were for them . . . including several prominent annexationists." As to the gossip about the queen and Wilson, "it is an outrage that makes an honest man's blood boil." Those now in control, he said, "are sons of missionaries who owe the whole of their social and pecuniary position to the natives. . . . They arrived here with exactly nothing."

Fred Wundenburg testified that "all independent Americans not under the influence of the Missionaries are opposed to annexation, as are the English, Germans, and almost all other foreigners." Many on the list of the Annexation Club were secretly against it, he said.

V. V. Ashford, in another of his chameleon changes, was equally abusive of the queen and the PGs. He was for annexation: "The country will be kept in a constant turmoil . . . as long as power is in the hands of the PGs. . . . We are ruled by Star Chamber process. . . . Give us not an oligarchy, give us democratic government." He warned of danger from the hordes of Japanese being imported by the planters: "They must never be given the franchise because they will vote as the Japanese consul tells them to."

The Hawaiian Patriotic League, headed by Mrs. James Campbell described as "a most brilliant Hawaiian woman," presented Blount with a petition that "the peace of our land not be destroyed by man's greed for power and spoils." Another petition, signed by nearly 10,000 citizens, begged

restoration of the queen "who knew she could not withstand the power of the United States but believed that she might safely trust to its justice."

The *Hui Kalai'aina* presented a full and detailed report on the PG seizure of control, appending, "We beg you to restore our beloved Queen Liliuokalani to the throne . . . as you have restored the Hawaiian flag. . . . Our native government is just as dear to us as America is to you. We prefer our modest flag to any other however glorious it may be. . . . We honor and respect America but we prefer to remain free. . . . We do not believe that the Great and Just American nation . . . would tolerate annexation by force against our wishes. . . . Our gratitude will ever bind us more indissolubly to the great Nation by a stronger tie than any enforced annexation could. . . . God Save Hawai'i Nei! God Bless the Great Republic and its magnanimous and just leader President Cleveland. We pray that the God Almighty may guide you."

Commissioner Blount concluded that "with the sugar treaty came an intoxicating increase of wealth, an Asiatic population, and alienation between native and foreign populations."

While Blount was gathering evidence, reporter Charles Nordhoff, through his dispatches to the New York *Herald Tribune*, was giving Americans a picture entirely different from that handed out by PG officials. He reported that "all Hawaiians are against annexation . . . only the planters favor it." He said they were now rushing in thousands of Japanese "for fear their labor supply will be cut off." Stories that the revolt was caused by passage of the Lottery Bill he denounced as "sheer hypocrisy . . . many now prominent in PG circles signed a petition for it, including the present chief of police, W. Larsen." Calling the gossip about the



queen "wholly false," he "condemned the PGs out of their own mouths" by quotations from their former statements: "She has always been honored, respected, and without one touch of gossip."

Nordhoff's articles aroused the American press. Said the San Francisco *Argonaut*: "America is not in the business of robbing foreign nations of their lands." An *Illustrated American* editorial headed "Hawaii Belongs to Hawaiians" said America's return of the government "will win the praise and honor of every just and honest people in the civilized world."

Aware of the effectiveness of Nordhoff's articles, the PG Advisory Committee cited him for contempt and ordered him to appear before them. Blount advised him to ignore the summons, and nothing more was done about it. Paul Neumann then wrote an open letter to Dole asking that he not permit the government of which he was head to continue its senseless and sometimes cruel acts: "The people have always trusted your integrity and honor, but they are beginning to waver." He asked that a plebiscite be taken on the question of annexation.

Neumann's letter was followed by that of Makee Apuni praising Samuel Damon who reportedly urged "his fellow counsellors not to act from motives of fear and revenge. . . . Damon's sense of Justice is the embodiment of honor. . . . He stands in his protest, a man among pygmies." Wrote another, "The good men in the Government are helpless, bound by the policies of the whole." Individually, the cabinet members were respected as men of integrity.

On May 17 United States Minister Stevens was recalled to Washington and Blount was appointed Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary. On June 2 the PG government moved into Iolani Palace and gave orders that

it was never again to be referred to as a palace: "It is the Executive Building." It was apparent they were determined to hold their control regardless of the sentiment in Washington.

On May 30, PG police reported finding a bundle of explosives buried near the PG troops barracks, for which their papers blamed the Royalists. Reported *Holomua*: "Commissioner Blount made a searching investigation. His shrewd, judicial instinct filled him with suspicion and he exonerated the Royalists from having a hand in the job." Pursuing the investigation, *Holomua* finally got a signed confession from one A. Juen, an imported PG policeman, who admitted he had been ordered to "plant the explosives to make a case against the queen so she could be deported."

Realizing that Blount's report would probably be unfriendly to them anyway, the PGs made no further attempt to win him to their side and, inviting him to a Fourth-of-July celebration, had their band greet him with *Marching through Georgia*, the Civil War song sure to arouse his anger. After this incident, the anti-annexationists grew increasingly hopeful and one of them wrote that Blount had found PG "Americanism a shoddy article badly diluted with coolieism."

Angered by Blount's contempt and their failure to win a shred of Hawaiian good will, PG frustration was evident in a *Star* editorial threatening: "The queen won't live a day if she is restored. . . . It would serve her well to pray to her gods that the peril of restoration may never come to her." A San Francisco paper published a list "obtained from a member of the Citizen Reserve in Honolulu" purporting to be those selected to "be killed or banished" at the first attempt to overthrow the PGs. Names heading the list were Minister Blount, Queen Liliuokalani, and Claus Spreckels.

Denial of its authenticity by official PG sources did not lessen the amusement it afforded some Honoluluans one of whom wrote a memorial "to those doomed to die at the hands of the Murder Society of the Annexation Club."

On August 8 Minister Blount left for Washington, the Hawaiians bidding him *aloha* in a great demonstration with gifts and flowers. The PG band was present and again played *Marching through Georgia* as a final insult to this former officer of the Confederate Army.

On arrival in Washington, Commissioner Blount reported that the Hawaiians were overwhelmingly opposed to annexation: "They are convinced they have been the victims of a great wrong committed by American officials. They look to Washington for redress. . . . I am satisfied that if the votes of persons claiming allegiance to foreign countries were excluded [annexation] would be defeated by more than five to one."

Blount's official report to Secretary Gresham was passed on to the Senate with the recommendation that its members "right the great wrong done to a feeble but independent State . . . by restoring the legitimate government. Anything short of that . . . will not satisfy the demands of justice. Our Government . . . should be the last to acquire sovereignty over them by force and fraud."

President Cleveland's message to Congress asked that they "devise a solution . . . consistent with American honor, integrity, and morality. . . . Our only honorable course is to undo the wrong that has been done by those representing us and to restore . . . the status existing at the time of the forcible intervention."

On September 20 Mr. and Mrs. Robert Louis Stevenson returned to Hawaii. Shocked and grieved by the situation and the unhappy state of the Hawaiians, they stayed only a

month. Calling at once on Queen Liliuokalani, Stevenson assured her of his sympathy for her cause. To Dan Logan, editor of the *Bulletin*, he confided his utter dislike of the PG officials, saying that each of them reminded him of a character in *The Beach of Falesa*. On departure, he said to former Governor Cleghorn: "Now, Cleghorn, if I can be of any service to the royalist cause in Hawaii just drop me a line and I will come right back."

On November 24 came word that Washington would order the restoration of the queen. Immediately the PGs called a meeting of protest, attended, so reported the *Bulletin*, "by 785 people—all of whom were on the government pay roll." The speeches flamed with defiance of any "interference in our internal affairs by an outside country." Cleveland, said one speaker, "was elected on Rum, Romanism, and Rebellion . . . the three Rs now stand for Restoration of Rotten Royalty." Other speakers cried "We have won; the game is ours!" One speaker, denouncing America, declared "We are free men; we will build our own destiny."

Another said "Grover Cleveland stands today impeached before the American colony in Hawaii," a remark, said *Holomua*, "that will undoubtedly strike terror in the heart of President Cleveland . . . he will feel crushed and annihilated!" Reported the *Bulletin*, "There were disgusting catcalls and epithets screamed whenever Cleveland's name was mentioned."

The Provisional Government immediately began to tighten its organization, dismissing everyone who refused to sign binding oaths of loyalty. Many young Hawaiians were thrown out of their jobs, "all of them honest and capable," said the *Bulletin*, mentioning for special praise the six Lane brothers: "All honor that the inquisition has thus far developed is reflected in the many young Hawaiians



who have been its first victims. They could have saved their positions by practicing the duplicity of many others . . . and promising to carry a gun against their friends and kindred. . . . These young men retire with the respect of the whole community . . . leaving it for the inquisitor and his colleagues to suffer the pangs caused by loss of self-respect."

Lieutenant Kealakai of the Guards resigned "because I would not fight against the American flag, as the PGs plan to do if the United States interferes. . . . We Hawaiians will stand by America and our queen to the end."

Meanwhile in Washington President Cleveland had appointed as special commissioner to the Islands former Congressman Albert S. Willis of Kentucky, his instructions reading that he was to inform the queen she might "rely on the justice of this Government to undo the flagrant wrong. You will, however, at the same time inform her that, when reinstated, the President expects that she will pursue a magnanimous course, granting full amnesty to all who participated in the movement against her. . . . In effecting her restoration the President cannot use force without the authority of Congress."

## CHAPTER 30

### Minister Willis Meets the Queen

IMMEDIATELY on his arrival in Honolulu November 4 United States Minister Willis invited Queen Liliuokalani to an interview at his hotel. She responded promptly, accompanied by Britisher James Robertson, her chamberlain,

who was asked to wait in another room until Willis had delivered his message from President Cleveland to Her Majesty.

After presenting the President's "kindest greetings" and his "desire to undo the wrong that has been done," Willis asked if she would be willing to sign a proclamation of general amnesty with complete protection and pardon to those who had overthrown her government. She replied: "To grant amnesty is beyond my powers as a constitutional sovereign. I could not act without the consent of my ministers. Our laws read that those who are guilty of treason should suffer the penalty of death and their property be confiscated by the Government."

Asked if she would carry out that law, she said: "I, personally, would be more inclined to punish them by banishment and confiscation of their property, but final decision can be made only by my ministers."

Minister Willis then terminated the interview, saying that after consultation with Secretary of State Gresham he would talk with her again.

When he sent for her the second time she was accompanied by her advisor Joseph O. Carter, who insisted on remaining with her during the interview. Willis read a statement, which he said was made from "notes of the former interview," and asked if it was correct; she said it was. Only at a later date did she learn that the word "beheaded" had been substituted for her own "penalty of death." Commenting in her journal she wrote: "Had I held the document in my own hand and been permitted to read it I would have noticed the clause . . . 'my opponents beheaded.' That is a form of punishment never used in the Hawaiian Islands, either before or since the coming of the foreigners."

After Willis had read the "notes," Carter asked the queen if she was willing "to rescind the part relating to execution of the death penalty" to which she replied "I do in that respect." She still insisted, however, upon the penalty of banishment, saying: "There will never be peace in the Islands as long as they remain here." Since these two interviews had been merely informal discussions, it was decided that on December 18 Willis should call at Washington Place and receive the queen's *official* statement.

This was done, and in the presence of Carter she presented Minister Willis with her only official statement on the subject which read that in recognition of the high sense of justice prompting the action of President Cleveland and in view of his personal wishes: "I agree to give full amnesty in their persons and property if they will work together with me in trying to restore peace and prosperity to our beautiful and once happy islands . . . I must remember only my dear people and my country. I must forget and forgive the past . . . trusting that all will hereafter work together in peace and friendship for the good and for the glory of our land."

Thanking her for her magnanimous acceptance of President Cleveland's terms (which she had agreed to under the wise persuasion of Joseph Carter) Willis said he would transmit her message at once to Secretary of State Gresham.

Two days later Minister Willis met in conference with officials of the Provisional Government and read to them Secretary Gresham's message he had brought from Washington: "Upon the facts embodied in Mr. Blount's report the President has arrived at the conclusion that . . . the Provisional Government was not established by the Hawaiian people or with their consent. . . . The President is satisfied that the movement was . . . encouraged and sup-

ported by the Representative of this Government [Minister Stevens].”

After saying he had informed Her Majesty that “when reinstated the President will expect that she be magnanimous . . . by granting full amnesty to all who participated,” Willis said: “In obedience to the command of the President I have secured the queen’s agreement to this course.”

He then read her statement promising complete amnesty to all who participated in the overthrow of her government: “Therefore . . . it becomes my duty to inform you . . . that you are expected to relinquish to her her constitutional authority. With the earnest hope that your answer will be inspired by that high patriotism that forgets self-interest and in the name and authority of the United States of America I must submit to you the question: Gentlemen—are you willing to abide by the decision of the President?”

Sanford B. Dole, speaking for the council, asked time for consideration. A few days later their reply came in the form of a lengthy document claiming justification for their action and blackening the reign of King Kalakaua as well as that of Queen Liliuokalani, described as “even more reckless and retrogressive than her brother.” It closed with: “The Provisional Government declines to entertain the proposition of the President of the United States that it should surrender its authority to the ex-queen.” President Cleveland’s comment that it was “an extraordinary document” was interpreted by the PG press as a compliment, but by others as an exclamation of incredulity.

PG defiance of Washington was encouraged by the fact that the Republican Party, by championing the revolutionist cause, was making political hay, saying a Democratic president had refused “to support American citizens living



in Hawaii” or to “accept as a gift those strategically placed islands.” The Republican press ran sensational headlines: “Queen Liliuokalani is planning to behead a group of American citizens!”

Wrote the queen: “Although I immediately sent my protest that I had not used the words attributed to me by Mr. Willis in my informal conversation, and pointing out that in my only *official* interview with him I agreed to modify the law of all countries regarding treason . . . the charge was repeated to my hurt as often as possible.”

The PG press, making much of the distortion, carried sensational stories while the *Bulletin*, expressing belief that the queen had not used the word “beheaded,” reminded that those same men now charging her with “barbarism” had themselves boasted that “if Cleveland tried to restore her she will be murdered in cold blood. . . . These saints of highest integrity planned the murder of Kalakaua in 1887 . . . of Spreckels and others . . . they are not entitled to throw a stone. . . . Clemency and forgiveness are not mentioned in the Sedition Act . . . passed immediately after they got control.”

Editor Logan of the *Bulletin* accused the recently organized Hawaiian Historical Society of “falsifying history.” Saying that its officers were always chosen from members of the “Family Compact,” he cited as examples pseudo-historical articles by the Rev. Sereno Bishop “slyly depicting the natives as moral lepers,” and reminded that those same natives had “nurtured him and enabled him to lie down in green pastures.”

Contrasting “the intelligent moderation of those American papers supporting the queen” with the “vulgar cartoons and jingles of the Annexation press,” Logan pleaded with the PG papers to stop stirring up racial hatred. But easy

conquest had gone to PG heads and attacks on "the blood-thirsty queen" and defiance of President Cleveland continued.

On November 24 came a copy of Secretary of State Gresham's letter to President Cleveland urging "restoration of the legitimate government of Hawaii on grounds of facts established by Blount's report."

The PGs immediately called a public meeting at which the United States Government was denounced in inflammatory terms. "Shall Secretary Gresham stop the onward progress of Hawaii?" asked one speaker, and the crowd screamed "No, no!" It was voted that if Cleveland tried to restore the queen to her throne "it will be an act of war!"

Asked the *Bulletin*: "What is a PG, since they are neither Americans nor Hawaiians?" The editor quoted the *New York Nation* as calling them "the most rascally and illegitimate little state in the world."

Hawaiians, Americans, Britons, and Portuguese presented Minister Willis with a memorial thanking him for his efforts on behalf of Hawaii and expressing regret for the position in which President Cleveland was placed: "We pray God's blessings upon him and upon the noble American nation."

In Washington the President, stymied by the turn of events in Hawaii, asked Congress for a settlement. In Honolulu, revenge upon Joseph Carter for his endeavor to bring about a peaceful solution took the form of dismissal from his long-held position with planter-owned C. Brewer & Co., an act, said the *Bulletin*, "which leaves Mr. Carter richer in self-respect and the esteem of worthy men than those who have wrought their revenge upon him."

When the Provisional Government announced plans for an all-day celebration of its first anniversary the *Bulletin*

asked: "And what are they celebrating? They have glutted themselves with mean revenges . . . a four million-dollar-debt . . . standing army of idle men . . . spies. . . ." In contrast, the *Bulletin* reminded that one of the queen's last official acts was to draw a line through her own salary in the budget "so those of the teachers will not have to be cut."

Letters in agreement with the *Bulletin* sought to exonerate President Dole. One begged him to "show his real self," another said: "You have been loved by Hawaiians . . . respected by *haoles*. We cannot believe you are so greatly changed." Declared Clarence Ashford: "He is a prisoner of the oligarchy . . . and is bound by the Family Compact."

When it was rumored that all Hawaiian homesteaders living on lands given them by the queen would be ejected unless they signed the oath of allegiance, the *Bulletin* was happy to report that President Dole went personally to assure them they would not be put off the land nor forced to sign the oath. "Dole will be himself in the end," said editor Logan.

Republican senators in Washington held an investigation of Hawaiian affairs to which only PG witnesses were invited, no Royalists being included. On return of the Hawaii delegation the PG press boasted "We have driven the last nail in the coffin of the Hawaiian Monarchy." Realizing, however, that nothing could be done as long as Cleveland was President they decided to set up a republic with the hope that a Republican victory in the American congressional elections that fall would bring success to their annexation plans.

The Constitution drawn up for the Republic of Hawaii retained all property qualifications for voting and added

many new restrictions with the result that, thereafter, fewer than 800 votes were cast in elections out of a possible voting population of more than 10,000. It was announced that all crown lands had become the property of the republic, but income from them was never paid into the public treasury.

On August 27 word came from Washington that President Cleveland had recognized the Republic of Hawaii. "The political pressures became too great," wrote a Hawaiian sympathizer from the capital; "his party must prepare for the fall elections."

The PG papers were jubilant. Said the *Bulletin*: "Time will prove the situation." The Hawaiians, shocked, nonetheless retained their faith in Cleveland "forever afterward worshiping his name," wrote the queen.

Even though the United States Government had placed its official sign of approval on the Republic of Hawaii many Americans did not, and letters began to pour in to Queen Liliuokalani from individuals and groups offering their services for restoration of the monarchy. One signed "The Women of Texas" assured her they were on her side and asked how they might aid. Schoolmates of young John Wilson at Stanford University wanted to raise a company of 300 young men to go to Hawaii and fight for her. Many congressmen expressed disapproval of the Government's action, one senator calling it "one of the greatest crimes in history against a happy, inoffensive people." In Hawaii the sugar planters were disturbed by the rumor that some congressmen were urging abrogation of the sugar treaty with the Islands.

As letters of sympathy continued to arrive from the United States Hawaiians became convinced that America would back them if they attempted to restore their queen.



Soon a rumor spread that "President Cleveland will look favorably on a revolt but cannot send forces for assistance." PG agents reported a growing spirit of unrest and the police force was doubled by recruits from California. "Spies are everywhere," warned the pro-Hawaiian papers.

Britisher Fred Harrison, friend of Hawaiians, reported to the *Bulletin* that he was spied upon continually. "But I don't mind. Saves me the cost of a night watchman!" Fred Wundenburg was arrested for saying "Damn the PGs"; John van Gieson, organist at Kawaiahao Church, was arrested "on suspicion of disloyalty"; the chapel of the Seventh-Day Adventists was raided and several persons arrested. Clarence Ashford, volunteering to defend without charge the poorer victims of this campaign, said "The Government employs spies to swear away the lives and liberty of innocent people."

A *luau* at the home of John A. Cummins was raided on the grounds that it was "a royalist meeting." No arrests were made but the music and dancing were ordered stopped. When editor Logan of the *Bulletin* was denounced for publishing these things he replied: "The Government has chosen to seat itself on the safety valve of a boiler. . . . These exposés will be the only thing to save the republic in the end." He urged the Hawaiians to commit no acts of violence: "Your passive resistance is proving to be a good weapon. . . . The truth will come out. . . . the United States will never permit annexation under terms now existing under the republic. . . . Wait, wait."

Jittery and insecure, the Republic of Hawaii forbade all large gatherings and kept the city of Honolulu under constant surveillance. To outwit them, Hawaiians devised a secret method of passing along information by means of newly composed songs with double meanings. At funerals

and church meetings they spoke to one another in allegory, and finally they conceived a master plan for their peculiarly poetic Polynesian type of symbolic defiance.

It was announced through the Hawaiian newspapers that the queen had given a piece of her own land in Pauoa Valley as a park and that its planting would be according to the formal ceremonials of ancient days. The name chosen for the park was *Ulu-hai-malama*, allegorically, "As the plants grow up out of the dark earth into the light, so shall light come to the nation."

On the night before the ceremony the queen, attended by members of her household, went to the park and, right at the entrance, planted a bed of small shrubs the design of which spelled *Uluhaimalama*.

Suspicious, government police lined all roadways to the park on the following morning but only a small group of Hawaiians arrived, led by their National Band. The queen was not among them. Each Hawaiian wore a blue satin hatband lettered in gold *Uluhaimalama* as did natives throughout the city. Soon scattered groups appeared on the hillside opposite the garden site, others strolled slowly along the roadway, seemingly oblivious of what was taking place but keeping a watchful eye on the police to avoid arrest under the law forbidding assembly.

Inside the garden the ceremony was opened at 9 A.M. with the Hawaiian national anthem. As its last strains died away Prince David Kawanakoa stepped forward bearing a sapling of the *lehua*, a tree symbolic of Her Majesty because its flowers were "beloved of the gods." As he planted it an old Hawaiian chanted "This is the Heavenly One. May the gods protect her as she protects her people."

After the *lehua* tree had been blessed, other trees and flowers were planted in a circle around it, symbolizing the

encircling love of the people for their queen. As each was placed in the earth the old chanter intoned its purpose: "The *Hala Polapola*, your favorite *lei*, O Heavenly One, sweet to inhale. . . ." The *kukui*, "A Light for your Government." The *pilimai*, "The love of your people clings fast to you, O Heavenly One. Cling fast to your land, your people, your throne, O our Queen!"

When the encircling trees and flowers had all been planted there came next an emotional ceremony rooted in remote antiquity. A small mound of earth had been prepared on top of which a simple stone, symbolic of the creation of Mother Earth, was placed while the chanter intoned: "The land is the only living thing. Men are mortal. The land is the Mother that never dies." And as the rich earth was patted by loving hands around the base of the stone the people sang, softly, *Mele Aloha Aina*. (Song of the Land We Love) composed by Kekoa-kalani Prendergast in reply to a government threat that Hawaiians failing to take the oath of allegiance would be "forced to eat stones."

We the loyal sons and daughters of Hawaii  
Will exist by eating stones .  
The mystic wondrous food of our beloved land  
This we will do rather than swear allegiance  
To the traitors who have ravished our land  
Ae we are the stone eaters  
Loyal forever to our Land  
We stand together  
People of Maui of Kauai of Hawaii of Molokai  
We will not sell our birthright  
Steadfast we stand in support of our Queen  
All honor to those loyal to Our Beloved Hawaii.

The last planting took place at midnight under the full moon. It was the sacred night of *hua* on which all things

planted would grow and flourish. Bananas, rich in symbolic meaning, were set reverently in the moist earth while those in attendance chanted in unison:

*E ke mai-a* planted on this Holy Night of *Hua*  
Be ye fruitful for our Kingdom our People  
Fruitful for our Throne  
Our Heavenly One.

The Time of Stormy Days is past  
The Time of Light is near  
With Light will come freedom of body and spirit  
Happiness in living as lived Our Ancestors.

Here are the Torches of *Iwi-kau-kaua*  
Ancestor of the Heavenly One  
Lighted here tonight and for Time Without End  
For our Heavenly One  
For Her Heirs forever.

## CHAPTER 31

### A Counterrevolution Erupts

By January, 1895, opposition to the PGs was mounting steadily and no longer confined to Hawaiians. Many foreigners found themselves subject to persecution because of their royalist sympathies. Wrote one: "There was more real democracy under the monarchy than exists under this ruthless oligarchy rule."

Hawaiians, always slow to anger, were finally roused to action and, confident that America was on their side, asked the queen's approval of plans for revolt. She said: "If the



mass of the people choose to rise up and throw off the yoke I will say nothing against it but I could not approve of mere rioting." Thereafter, though taking no part, she knew that plans were being formulated.

Among the foreigners who took leadership was Major William T. Seward, former American Army officer who had fought with General Grant through the Wilderness campaign. Arriving in Hawaii in 1886, he struck up a friendship with John A. Cummins and after staying as his house guest for several months the arrangement became permanent, the two men settling down to devoted companionship.

Another leader was Cummins' son-in-law Thomas Beresford Walker, former British Army officer, now a successful Honolulu contractor. These two men worked out military plans for the counterrevolution. They agreed that Cummins, an old man, should not be told of the plot lest blame be attached to him if anything went wrong.

Other foreign leaders were American Charles T. Gulick who, as legal advisor, drafted a new constitution and drew up the cabinet commissions, and Britisher William G. Rickard, sugar planter, legislator, and highly respected citizen who was being ruthlessly pushed to the wall by the "sugar oligarchy." He offered \$10,000 for financing the plan. The Ashford brothers, though not active participants, were known to be friendly as were many other eminent foreigners and "hundreds of *haole* workmen and mechanics."

Leaders among the Hawaiians were Anglo-Hawaiian Samuel Nowlein, captain of the Queen's Guards; the ever-rebellious Robert Wilcox, and Lot Kamehameha Lane whose Irish father, William Lane, said to his six stalwart sons: "Go, my sons, and fight for the rights of your people. Spill your blood if necessary on the soil of your mother's

land—and never forget that there flows in your veins the blood of the Careys and Lanes of County Cork!”

Enthusiasm for the revolt spread like wildfire among Hawaiians. Secret meetings were held nightly in all parts of the Islands. It was agreed that the password be “Missionary,” the countersign, “*Aloha Aina*” (Patriot).

Previously, late in November, 1894, Major Seward had gone to California and bought arms and ammunition reportedly paid for by Rudolph Spreckels of San Francisco. Shipped to Hawaii on the schooner *Wahlberg*, the munitions were to be transferred at sea off the island of Oahu to the steamer *Waimanalo* which, without arousing suspicion, could then deliver portions at various points along the shore line, bringing the remainder into Honolulu Harbor where a large force of men would be waiting to start the action.

The first part of the plan was carried out successfully. Arms and ammunition were transferred on the night of December 30, then the *Waimanalo*, under command of Captain William Davies, a loyal Royalist, steamed to a rendezvous off the Diamond Head beach home of a German-Hawaiian sympathizer, Henry Bertelmann, for orders before proceeding to Honolulu Harbor where she was scheduled to dock on Thursday, January 3, 1895. First action was to be staged that night.

But excessive enthusiasm on the part of Hawaiians led to violation of the order for quietly assembling a small force on the water front that evening. Instead of a few score, hundreds came and—so did the PG police. Although the crowd was orderly, arrests were made and many Hawaiians severely beaten. The crowd dispersed. Captain Nowlein ordered: “Go quietly home and wait until you hear from me.”

Robert Wilcox then mounted his horse and rode swiftly to Diamond Head where the *Waimanalo* lay offshore. In Bertelmann's canoe Wilcox put out to warn Captain Davies: "The water front is guarded. We'll have to put our guns ashore here." So, working feverishly throughout the night, the crew carried arms and ammunition ashore and by dawn had buried them in the sand along the shore line at the foot of Diamond Head.

It had been planned that on arrival of the arms in Honolulu Harbor Thomas Walker would take charge of the downtown forces, which were to include a large number of foreigners. The Hawaiians, under Nowlein, Wilcox, and Lane, were to close in from Diamond Head and the country districts. The first attack was to be made on the police station. The water-front foul up on January 3 now made a change of plans imperative. Orders were that everyone was to lie low for the next two days then, on Sunday morning, small groups of Hawaiians dressed as fishermen were to set out for Diamond Head as if for a day of fishing. There they would be issued weapons and assembled for a march to town to join the foreign contingent and go into action.

Government agents, noting that an unusual number of Hawaiians had come in from the country on Saturday night, followed the "fishermen" and, convinced that something was afoot, placed guards at the Waikiki entrance of Kapiolani Park with orders to question all arrivals. Some of the Hawaiians were turned back, others arrested. Spies reported a large gathering at the Bertelmann house.

By dusk about eighty Hawaiians had assembled at Bertelmann's and as many more were posted along the shore line—a force far short of the thousand expected. Still hoping that the rest of their men would get through police lines, the leaders gave orders that an attack would be made on

key points of Honolulu next morning, January 7, at 2 A.M.

The PGs, now thoroughly alarmed, dispatched a patrol, led by Captain Robert Parker, to check the entire Diamond Head area. En route they were joined by young Charles Carter and two friends, weekending at the Carter beach house, who went along "to have some fun with the *kanakas*." In preparation for the "fun" Carter, whom Dr. Trousseau later described as "a simple, big, overfat boy," wore two six-guns.

When the detail arrived at Bertelmann's house Captain Parker went up on the *lanā'i* and through the window saw Henry Bertelmann sitting alone in the living room, reading by the light of a kerosene lamp. Carter and his friends went around the house and walked toward the canoe shed on the beach. Seeing movements in the shadows, Carter whipped out both guns and fired into the dusk. His shots were returned from the canoe shed and surrounding shrubbery. In the first volley Carter was shot in the shoulder and abdomen and two Hawaiians were wounded, one in the lung, the other in the thigh. After a few minutes of wild shooting on both sides, firing ceased and the three wounded men were carried into the house. Carter was bleeding profusely.

The Royalists, realizing that the PG courier dispatched to Honolulu would soon return with reinforcements, withdrew to positions among the crags on the slopes of Diamond Head. In town, the couriers rushed into Central Union Church where evening services were being held, whispered to the pastor whose tense "Fighting has broken out on Diamond Head" sent members of the Citizens' Guard hastily to the armory to prepare for battle.

The news soon reached Honolulu streets and the foreigners, who had promised to join the Hawaiians, realizing the full force of the PG militia would be thrown against



them, kept quiet. From then on the few Hawaiians at Diamond Head were left to fight alone.

On the following morning Charles Carter died. PG newspapers flamed with sensational headlines and stories of "bloodthirsty rebels." The *Star*: "Charles Carter fell a martyr in a glorious cause. . . . His patriotic death will ever be an inspiration to all who battle for liberty against oppression and wrong. . . . His leadership was as brave, courageous, patriotic . . . as ever rescued a country from a despot's rule. . . . His death adds increasing luster to the courageous bravery and statesmanship of the founders of the Hawaiian Republic."

Excoriating "those who committed this fiendish murder" the Government prepared for war in earnest. More than 1,000 men were armed; when the armory was filled, soldiers were billeted in Central Union and Kawaiahao churches. Martial law was declared and hundreds of arrests made without warrants or evidence further than the victim was known to be "friendly to Royalists."

In all parts of the island Hawaiians and foreigners were seized, dragged off to prison, often in chained groups, and thrown into bare, dirty cells without any charges against them. Through all this mad mayhem only the *Bulletin*, under the calm direction of Dan Logan, sustained a note of sanity and reason. Daily he published a list of those arrested, with occasional caustic comment. The PG papers screamed for revenge against "these bloodthirsty rebels."

Meanwhile the Government placed field artillery in Kapiolani Park, sent the tug *Eleu*, armed with cannon, out to Diamond Head, and for two days the Royalists, crouching in crevices on the mountainside, were shelled from land and sea. The *Bulletin* reported "natives lying dead and

wounded in gulches . . . but no one is allowed to get through to them."

In hope of recruiting reinforcements, Captain Nowlein, with about ninety men, retreated from Diamond Head to Moiliili, at the mouth of Manoa Valley, then made his way around the foothills back of the city. Wilcox with a smaller force retreated into Manoa Valley, then on to Pauoa Valley. Lot Lane and a handful of men were the last to leave the slopes of Diamond Head, shelled from the *Eleu* and by artillery in Kapiolani Park. Some of his men were badly wounded but none killed as they made their way into Palolo Valley where Hawaiians and Chinese brought them food and water. They pushed on into Manoa Valley, alive with armed members of the Citizens' Guard and baying bloodhounds. Bullets flew wild. An old man sitting quietly in his home was wounded; a young boy was killed. Several of Lane's men were wounded, some killed. He kept assuring them: "God is with us—*our* God." But soon the remaining few surrendered.

Lane went on alone. Higher and higher into the mountains he climbed, shot at continuously and tracked by baying bloodhounds from ledge to ledge, crevice to crevice. Soon his shoes were gone; his clothing in shreds. He had nothing to eat save an occasional wild banana. At night he crouched in shallow pockets in the mountainside while torrential rains, sweeping across his hiding place, chilled him to the marrow. Yet he gave no thought to surrender.

Nowlein and three of his followers surrendered on January 14, after a week of hardship. Later that day Wilcox was captured on the outskirts of the city. Word had reached him that his wife, Theresa, and their child had been taken to police headquarters, threatened, but finally released. He

was on his way to surrender. His arrest, said the *Bulletin*, "was really the surrender of a sick and heartbroken warrior."

Three days later Lot Lane, high in a mountain crevice, noted that all firing had ceased in the city below. He decided: "The foreigners came to our rescue as they said they would." Again he thought with fierce joy: "God is on our side!" With a devout Catholic prayer of gratitude he prepared to go down into the city.

At the entrance of the valley he met a friend who, embracing him, cried bitterly "Our queen was arrested today." They stood quietly, arms around each other then, said Lot: "I must join my comrades." "But they will kill you," protested his friend; "they have offered a large reward for you, dead or alive. They call you a dangerous man." Lot's only reply was to start off down the road.

It was after dusk on January 17 when Lot Lane, unshaven, barefoot, clothes in shreds, but with head held high, walked into police headquarters. As policemen stood quietly in awe of this powerful, belligerent apparition he announced: "I am Lot Lane. I have come to give myself up." They hurried him into the office of the attorney general who nervously pulled a gun from a drawer and placed it atop the desk, his hand trembling. "They are afraid of their shadows," Lot remembered thinking.

The attorney general demanded names of the white men who had promised to aid the Hawaiians. Lane made no reply. The attorney bristled, "Do you realize you can be put to death as a traitor?" Scornfully Lane replied, "No, I am not the traitor; you are. I chose with my heart and head to fight for my country—and I will not tell on my friends."

Guards hustled him away and into a room containing more than one hundred Hawaiians who rushed to surround him, plying him with questions. They had had no word

from their families; some had sick wives, children, left with no means of support. All were hungry, having had nothing but hardtack and coffee for ten days.

Lot decided on direct action. A pile of tin plates from the last scanty meal was stacked upon the floor. One kick scattered them with a racket like pistol shots against the bare walls. Immediately the doors flew open and guards burst into the room with cocked guns to face the angry giant who bellowed: "Get these men food. They haven't been convicted of any crime yet, but you treat them like criminals. Get some food, I tell you. Bring *poi* and meat."

The frightened guards mumbled it was too late at night, but Lot roared "Get the food, I tell you!" Food was brought to the half-starved men. Before the doors were locked again for the night six armed guards marched into the room and stationed themselves around the mat upon which Lane was to sleep. Deliberately, he kept them terrified by tossing and muttering throughout the night.

On January 16, the day before Lot Lane's arrest, Queen Liliuokalani, sitting in her living room at Washington Place, was told there were two men at the door. She directed that they be brought in. They were government officials. One, the deputy marshal, said he had a warrant for her arrest. Assuming she was to be questioned at the police station, she readily agreed to go with them. They suggested that her companion, Mrs. Charles Clark, accompany her. Later the queen wrote:

"Following her, I entered the carriage . . . and as we turned the corner of the block . . . I glanced back and saw . . . Chief Justice Judd of the Supreme Court going into Washington Place."

The streets were crowded with people as the carriage



made its way not to the police station but to Iolani Palace at the entrance of which was stationed the Government Band. As the queen's carriage approached, it struck up *Marching through Georgia* which had become the theme song of the PGs.

Into the palace from which she had formerly ruled her kingdom Queen Liliuokalani was marched to an uncarpeted room with a single bed, a chair, a sofa, a small table, and a bureau. Then, for the first time, she was told that she was a prisoner of state, being held for treason.

She wrote: "That first night of my imprisonment was the longest I have ever spent. . . . It seemed as though dawn would never come. I found in my bag a small Episcopal Book of Common Prayer. It was a great comfort to me; before retiring, Mrs. Clark and I spent a few minutes in devotions."

During the following days and nights guards marched ceaselessly back and forth before her door, "their beat falling incessantly on my ears." Mrs. Clark, whose husband had been arrested previously, was filled with fear for her children so on the following day the queen asked that she be returned to her home and Mrs. Charles Wilson be sent as companion in her stead. This was permitted.

Later the queen was to learn that immediately after she was taken from Washington Place all of her retainers were arrested and thrown into prison. Before being carried away they had looked on with dismay as the chief justice ransacked the queen's desk, her private safe, even her bureau drawers. On leaving he carried with him all of her private papers, none of which, except her will, was ever returned to her. Taken were her diaries, petitions from her people, the record she had made after her first talk with Minister Willis "which confirmed what was said at that interview." Taken

also was the outline of a new constitution, drawn by Charles T. Gulick.

Immediately afterward Washington Place was turned over to a military company "which ransacked it again from garret to cellar. Not an article was left undisturbed . . . bureau drawers were wrenched out, their contents strewn over the floors . . . clothing and personal belongings were stolen or torn into bits. . . ." The only thing the queen ever recovered was some jewelry, which she was later "allowed to buy back."

Meanwhile, her personal retainers and servants were being questioned at the prison in an effort to make them "disclose the queen's treachery." Joseph Heleluhe, her private secretary, was "stripped of all clothing and placed in a dark cell without light, food or water." After six weeks he was finally released without any charges having been placed against him.

The Government announced they had found buried in the grounds of Washington Place "A small arsenal of pistols, rifles, swords, belts of cartridges, and twenty-one dynamite bombs made of coconut shells and filled with giant powder and small birdshot." The *Bulletin* promptly reported that the bombs were found "not in the grounds but buried outside the hedge" surrounding Washington Place gardens. Witnesses who saw the bombs taken from the pit in which they had been buried declared they had been "planted" there as were the explosives near the armory on a previous occasion. As to the other weapons, the queen wrote:

My husband had a passion for collecting ancient specimens of firearms and for this purpose he set aside in the yard a small cottage . . . on its walls was

a formidable show of antiquated instruments of war . . . curiosities of obsolete warfare. . . . It was on the opening of this curiosity shop . . . that word was passed that firearms . . . had been found secreted in a small house on the grounds. . . .

The draft of a new constitution and a statement in the queen's diary "I signed all commissions today" formed the basis of the Government's charge of her "knowledge of plans for the revolution."

On the fourth day of the queen's imprisonment Paul Neumann was permitted to see her. Assuring her that he would "defend all those charged with treason," he hesitated before telling her the Government had announced that she and six of the leaders were to be "shot for treason." He promised to return the next day, but it was three days before anyone appeared. Then came Charles Wilson, bearing a document of abdication drawn up by the PG lawyers. It began with the obviously absurd statement: "After full and free consultation with my personal friends and legal advisors . . ."

Wrote the queen: "For myself I would have chosen death rather than sign it, but it was presented to me that by signing this paper all those who had been arrested, all of my people now in trouble by reason of their love and loyalty toward me, would be *immediately released* . . . the stream of blood ready to flow could be stayed by my pen."

She agreed to sign. PG lawyers came, together with three of the queen's Hawaiian friends "who were brought for the purpose of making it appear to the outside world that I was under the guidance of friends."

When the queen asked how she was to sign the document attorney Alfred Hartwell replied: "Liliuokalani Dominis" which, as she later pointed out, was absurd since Liliuokalani was merely the official title with which she had been

proclaimed Princess Royal, then Queen, not a "name." She signed, as directed, "the name of a person who had never existed."

Hartwell was last to leave the room. He took the queen's hand in both of his, held it quietly for a moment, his eyes full of tears. As the door closed behind him Mrs. Wilson turned to the queen and said scornfully, "Crocodile tears!"

Their end accomplished, the PG officials then hastened to prepare cases for the prosecution which, despite their promise to the queen, were to demand the death penalty for all leaders of the counterrevolution.

That night, reported the *Bulletin*, "came the worst earthquake Honolulu had ever experienced. The most solid buildings shook, gave out rumblings. . . . The Hawaiians hope for the intervention of Pele."

## CHAPTER 32

### The "Traitors" Are Tried

WHEN the political trials opened before "The Military Tribunal of the Republic" the *Bulletin* pleaded with the government newspapers to cease their "ferocious, inflammatory editorials . . . tending to incite anger and hard feelings between the races . . . the Government will be held responsible by the civilized world for the way it deals with the humiliated insurgents in its power." The wife of a top PG official, thanking the editor, wrote: "All humane and right-minded people agree with you."

Although all government dispatches to the United States placed blame on "drunken dissolute natives," locally the



PGs resented most the participation of many eminent foreigners. Arrested first were the five *haoles*, Charles T. Gulick, William Rickard, Major Seward, Thomas Walker, and Captain William Davies. All were put into dark, damp cells and held without food or water in an effort to wring confessions from them.

Other prominent foreigners arrested, on no further evidence than that they were "friendly to royalty," were the Ashford brothers, Arthur Peterson, and Charles Crichton, all of whom had held high government positions. Arrested also were George Lycurgus, a popular Greek called the "Duke of Sparta," owner of famed Sans Souci restaurant at Waikiki; Augustus Knudsen, a scholarly Norwegian who had never taken part in politics; John F. Bowler and Fred Harrison, British contractors and loyal friends of Hawaiians; a German named Mueller, arrested for saying "the natives are the true lords of the soil"; J. H. Schnack, a loyal government official turned in by one of the paid "informers" on a charge later proven false. Among scores of others was the Dane Edmund Norrie, caustic editor of *Holomua*, who was charged with "speaking disrespectfully of the Government."

A reporter for the *San Francisco Call* wrote of forced confessions obtained by putting prisoners in tanks of ice water. He quoted a top government official as saying "after a day in the tanks even the strongest of them break."

Arrests of Hawaiians ran into hundreds; some were freed for lack of prison space. Many were arrested while at work in their taro patches or other ordinary chores. The *Bulletin* published stories of starving families, afraid to leave their homes after arrests of husbands and fathers. Hawaiian papers reported: "Catholic priests and Mormons take them food secretly at night and give them news."

When Prince Kuhio Kalaniana'ole was arrested a govern-

ment official went to his aunt, Queen Dowager Kapiolani, and offered to free him if she would get him to turn state's evidence. Her reply: "If he is guilty of any wrong, he should be punished. But if he and the others are innocent—woe be unto you." Arrested with the prince were two of his friends, Irish-Hawaiian John Prendergast and German-Hawaiian John H. Wise. All were imprisoned.

The six Lane brothers were arrested together with a fifteen-year-old nephew. A spectacularly handsome group, the *Bulletin* said: "The Lanes would attract attention in any crowd." Lot was described as "the finest physical specimen on the island. Over six feet tall, beautifully proportioned, fine features, great strength. His father is said to be descended from Irish kings, his mother has the blood of the Kamehamehas." John, one of the younger sons, was described as looking like "a Greek god."

On the day the trials opened in Iolani Palace, the throne room was filled to capacity. Present were officials of the diplomatic corps and members of all races living in the Islands—except Hawaiians. In the streets surrounding the palace small groups of natives stood in ominous silence. The atmosphere was tense and bitter. Conspicuous among those in daily attendance at the trials were American Minister Albert Willis and British Minister A. G. S. Hawes. In a formal statement issued beforehand Willis warned the Government: "The world is watching you . . . you had best act with justice, not revenge."

American correspondents wrote that President Dole was endeavoring "to soften the vindictive attitude of some of his colleagues" but, said one, "he has very little influence in the Hawaiian Government. It would be a better government if he did." Another compared him to the Emperor of Russia, "a good man, under whose regime the most

horrible things have happened." California's Joaquin Miller, "Poet of the Sierras," wrote savage verses describing the government officials.

Before the trials opened it became known that Captain William Nowlein and Charles Clark (husband of the queen's lady in waiting) had turned state's evidence. Captain Davies, under pressure of torture, had also given damaging testimony. Refusal of the Lane brothers and Robert Wilcox to break under the severest tests was to make them forever heroes in the eyes of their people.

First brought to trial were the foreigners Major Seward, Charles Gulick, William Rickard, and Thomas Walker. The "Military Tribunal" made quick work of their cases. Together with Robert Wilcox they were charged with treason and all sentenced to death and \$10,000 fines.

Prince Kuhio walked into the throne room head up, manner casual and debonair. His attitude toward the Military Court was half amusement, half contempt. In a calm, clear voice he declared himself guilty. He was sentenced to one year in prison and a \$1,000 fine.

The venerable Anglo-Hawaiian John A. Cummins, white hair and beard gleaming, gazed haughtily upon the Court, noting among them several who, in the past, eagerly sought invitations to his famed parties. Rejecting the services of a lawyer, he chose to plead his own case. After announcing "Not guilty" in a clear, firm voice, he gave detailed proof of his lack of knowledge of the plot, carefully concealed from him. But the court was in no mood for justice. He was found guilty of treason, sentenced to five years at hard labor, plus a \$5,000 fine.

In view of his age and state of health it was obvious that he could not survive such a sentence, therefore a young Irish lawyer, Alfred Magoon, raised the money for his fine

and eventual freedom. Said Magoon, "Someday decent men will hide their heads in shame to read of these trials."

Next came a group of twenty-five Hawaiians, to be tried "in one batch." Among them were the Lane brothers. On the night before the trial Lot demanded that they be properly fed: "We go to court tomorrow to defend ourselves. Men cannot defend themselves unless they have clear minds and cannot have clear minds if they are hungry. Bring us decent food." The food was brought and the men ate hungrily. When told they might have a lawyer to defend them, Lot replied: "We will defend ourselves. We will tell the truth and that is the only defense we need. We will look them in the eyeballs and tell the truth—not for shame to us but shame to them."

Refused permission to shave, bathe, or change to clean clothes before being taken before the Tribunal, they were a ragged-looking lot as they marched into the throne room, but all walked with ramrod backs. When Lot was called to the witness stand there was a taut silence. The diplomatic group leaned forward and scrutinized him closely. He stood calmly, proudly, a ragged, unwashed figure of defiance. As the charge of treason was read he looked directly into the friendly, admiring eyes of the foreign diplomats. When the prosecutor demanded that he tell what he knew of the revolt he answered: "I will tell you this much—I went to fight for my country and my queen." The attorney replied sharply, "We are not interested in that. We want to know where you got the guns."

Fixing his scornful gaze upon the government prosecutor, his resonant voice commanding rapt attention, Lot answered:

"You say I am a traitor. Who am I a traitor to? my country? my queen? No! You are traitors to the people



who gave you *aloha* in their own land. I don't know the laws that you make up to suit yourselves but I know the laws of nature. I went out to spill my blood for my own land, like the mother cow gets ready to fight for her calf. When the dogs come, some of the cattle run, but the cow sticks by her calf to defend it with her life.

That is the way I feel about my country and my queen. That is the way I have learned the laws of life. If I have done anything wrong against my country, then punish me. Take me out in the early sunrise and shoot me while I look at God's sun; no blindfold on my eyes, but with my eyes open. Then you can shoot me. But I can be punished only if I have hurt my own land which God gave to us Hawaiians for life."

The diplomats looked at one another. Said British Minister Hawes, "He is a great leader."

All of the Hawaiians were found guilty, and the prosecutor said "We made short work of that batch." The PG press complained that "some of the natives insisted upon making endless speeches."

Each of the Lane brothers was sentenced to five years at hard labor and a \$5,000 fine; the fifteen-year-old nephew got one year in prison and a \$1,000 fine. Sentences for the others ran from one to five years at hard labor.

As the trials continued, government officials became increasingly irritated by the attitudes of the American and British ministers. To Commissioner Lorrin A. Thurston in Washington one of them reported: "The most serious feature of the situation is the attitude of Willis and Hawes. They are in constant attendance at the trials. . . . Neumann [the defense lawyer] is evidently posted by them from time to time; he presents their arguments and talks directly to them when he addresses the court. . . . They are

vigorously against the execution of the sentences. . . . Willis is determined to protect the Royalists. . . . The guilt goes back to Cleveland who has held out to the Hawaiians that the monarchy is the rightful government here and should be restored. Damn him! . . . Cleveland cannot bluff us any more now than in December, 1893."

The trial of Queen Liliuokalani opened on February 8. She was charged with "misprision of treason." Entering the throne room in which, as queen, she had often welcomed these same men, now usurpers, she was faced by soldiers with fixed bayonets. Wearing a simple black dress and hat and carrying a *lauhala* fan decorated with maidenhair ferns and violets, she walked with calm dignity. An American reporter described her expression as "strong and resolute. . . . She had the ease and authoritative air of one accustomed to rule."

"The substance of my crime," she wrote later, "was that I knew my people were conspiring to . . . throw off the yoke of the oppressor and I had not conveyed the knowledge to those persons I had never recognized except as unlawful usurpers of authority. . . . The only charge against me really was that of being queen, and my case was judged by these, my adversaries, before I came into court."

The only witness against Her Majesty was Chief Justice Judd; his only evidence, the notation in her diary, December 30: "Signed eleven commissions today." This, said he, proved her knowledge of the plot.

The prosecutor referred to the queen always as "that woman"; his speech was ugly, vindictive. She wrote: "The object . . . was to humiliate me, to make me break down in the presence of the staring crowd . . . but my equanimity was never disturbed. . . . I said nothing to their taunts and innuendoes and showed no emotion."

Paul Neumann, her attorney, read a statement by her saying in part: ". . . I owe no allegiance to the Provisional Government established by a minority of the foreign population . . . nor to any power or anyone save the will of my people and the welfare of my country."

As this was read American Minister Willis nodded his head vigorously. Attorney Neumann continued: "The wishes of my people were not consulted as to this change of government. . . . To prevent the shedding of the blood of my people, native and foreign alike, I quietly yielded to the armed forces brought against my throne and submitted to the Government of the United States the decision of my rights and those of the Hawaiian people. Since then I have pursued the path of peace and diplomatic discussion. . . . The United States . . . concluded to leave to the Hawaiian people the selection of their own form of government. . . . The movement undertaken was without my knowledge, sanction, or consent. . . . But had I known, their secrets would have been mine and inviolately preserved."

In denying the right of the Government to try her: "In your actions you violate your own constitution and laws. . . . All who uphold you in this unlawful proceeding may scorn and despise my word but the offense of setting aside your own laws and disregarding all justice and fairness may be . . . to you and your descendants the source of an unhappy and much-regretted legacy."

The statement closed with comment concerning those of her people held as prisoners: "As you deal with them, so I pray that the Almighty God may deal with you in your hour of trial."

The trial lasted for four days, then, after isolation in her prison room at the palace for twenty days longer, the queen

was summoned before the Tribunal to hear the verdict: "Five years' imprisonment at hard labor and a \$5,000 fine." The verdict of "hard labor" was never carried out, nor was she deported as was urged by the more vindictive of her enemies. Returned to her bare room in Iolani Palace, she was informed that she would continue to serve her sentence there. The official record of the trial, as she later learned, was destroyed so that none might read the story of the infamous scene.

The trials continued for thirty-six days, during which 191 persons were "tried," 171 convicted, five acquitted, a few given suspended sentences, 24 ordered deported, and many others discharged after being held in prison for several weeks without any charges filed against them. Among the latter were Edmund Norrie and George Lycurgus of whom Norrie wrote: "Their invitation to leave the country was not accepted by the Greek hero." Later Norrie became the editor of a small newspaper, the *Independent*, from which post in years to come he was to take caustic revenge.

The American and British ministers protested vigorously against execution of any death sentences. At first the Government insisted "it is necessary to make some examples to show that we are masters of the situation." But under the pressure of Washington's statement that "if anyone is put to death you need not hope for annexation," the death sentences were eventually commuted to life imprisonment. The anger of the American people was too powerful a factor to ignore.

Arrival in California of those sent into exile from Hawaii did the reputation of the Hawaiian Republic no good. To newsmen the Ashford brothers reported: "There is a perfect reign of terror in the Islands. Informers are everywhere; people dare not speak even in their own homes." Next, the



death shortly after his arrival of American Arthur Peterson, who had developed pneumonia as a result of the "ice-water treatments," sparked an uproar of criticism in Congress and the American press. From then on, although some Republican newspapers continued to back the republic, voices of the opposition grew daily stronger.

Word came that Senators Teller, Hoar, Hale, and Hawley were vociferous in their disapproval, Senator Hoar: "Robbing the people of the Pacific of their lands and government is not the kind of Americanism . . . that Americans understand." Said another: "America will never stain her flag by taking property stolen from an innocent and trusting people." The *Nation* called the situation "too atrocious for anything but silent sorrow," and the *Chicago Times Herald* ran a scathing article on "that ridiculous little oligarchy called a republic."

Individual Americans in large numbers voiced their sympathy for the Hawaiians and many offered support. From Indian Territory came a letter to Queen Liliuokalani signed "Citizens of the Cherokee Nation" asking: "How many volunteer Americans would it require to re-establish Your Majesty's Government and displace the oligarchy that usurps your country?" To President Dole came a letter from "Texas women" declaring themselves to be on the side of the queen "who came by her right to the throne."

As the roar of disapproval from America increased, dissension arose among the top government officials and it was rumored that President Dole was threatening to resign unless allowed to follow a course of leniency. He gave a private order that Prince Kuhio was not to wear prison garb, but the prince replied: "As long as one Hawaiian wears prison stripes, so will I."

Meanwhile Queen Liliuokalani was trying to adjust her-

self to her lonely, restricted life. She was allowed no visitors, not even her pastor, the Rt. Rev. Alfred Willis of the Episcopal Church. When her friends former British Consul and Mrs. J. H. Wodehouse asked permission to say good-by before leaving for England they, too, were refused. Letters sent to her were opened and read before delivery; gifts of flowers and food carefully examined. Newspapers were not permitted, but occasionally slipped through as wrapping for flowers "to be avidly read for news of the outside world." Wrote newsman Julius Palmer. "No despotism known to history is greater than that of Hawaii since dethronement of the queen. . . ."

Refused any kind of reading matter, the queen turned to writing music. "I found great consolation in composing. . . . Three found their way from my prison to the city of Chicago where they were printed, among them *Aloha Oe* . . . which became a very popular song." Another was *The Queen's Prayer*, a beautiful, spiritual chant asking divine forgiveness for her enemies.

Under continued pressure from Washington, President Dole, despite opposition of vengeful die-hards, commuted all death sentences of political prisoners to thirty-five years at hard labor. On July 4 some of the sentences were further shortened and 45 Hawaiians were given conditional pardons. Angered by Washington's attitude toward them, some of the sugar planters, thinking in terms of labor, now suggested turning to Japan. Therefore they sent William Armstrong to Tokyo to negotiate further labor contracts and discuss diplomatic matters with the Japanese Government.

On his return, August 13, Armstrong was quoted in the papers as saying: "Hawaii should forget the United States and tie up with Japan . . . the American flag won't help

us . . . and annexation may easily make us a political hell." In angry reply, "American" wrote: "This wondrous sage advocated stopping the coming of everyone but Japanese." And Charles R. Bishop, disgusted by this evidence that money alone would influence all government decisions, prepared to leave to make his home permanently in California.

Alarmed by the possibility of being "swamped by an influx of coolie immigrants," a group of *haoles*, many of whom had formerly opposed annexation, now asked Hawaiians to meet with them to discuss the matter. Editor Logan of the *Bulletin* said: "You Hawaiians have more to gain from annexation to America than anyone else in the Islands." He read a letter from someone on Maui saying "If the Hawaiians but realize it, the United States will prove to be their best friend."

Among those agreeing with Logan was former Marshal Charles Wilson who said: "America is an honorable nation. Under her protection we can find the security and happiness we knew under our own rulers. Our people who travel in the United States say that Americans are warmhearted and kind." An American visitor named Richmond confirmed this: "We are a free people and we want freedom for others. You need not fear becoming a part of so great-hearted a nation." But loyalty to their monarchy was still strong in the hearts of Hawaiians and they would make no commitments.

On September 7 the "Council of State," at the request of President Dole, agreed to "conditional pardons" for Queen Liliuokalani, Prince Kuhio, and 47 other political prisoners, all of whom were released on parole. The queen was told she must reside at Washington Place; must hold no political meetings at her home: "You will not be allowed

. . . a retinue or guard and your attendants will be limited to necessary domestics."

She wrote: "As I was driven from my prison—once my palace—to Washington Place—it seemed as though nature smiled on my return. The flowers, shrubs, trees, never looked to me so charming. How I enjoyed their welcome! . . . But my welcome was not altogether from the silent, waving leaves. Those of my people who had been released from imprisonment were there to greet me also with their fond *aloha*."

During the following weeks Hawaiians came to Washington Place in great numbers but only a few, after careful quizzing by sentries, were permitted to see their queen. Among the foreigners who called were the widow and namesake son of Britisher John S. Walker who had given many years of faithful service to the Government under all changing regimes. "One of the many," wrote the queen, "who from persecution succumbed to death."

As the unhappy year 1895 drew to a close the Government, under pressure at home and abroad, released all political prisoners on parole. The pathetic scene outside prison gates as hundreds of Hawaiians awaited their loved ones was described by the *Independent*. Many of the prisoners were seriously ill; some still carried unhealed wounds. As Major Seward, haggard and ill, walked through the gate he was greeted by his still loyal friend John A. Cummins who himself had suffered greatly because of Seward's participation in the ill-starred counterrevolution. Taking him to his home in Waimanalo, Cummins nursed the major back to health.

The reception given to William Rickard by the Hawaiians when he returned to his home on the island of Hawaii was described as "an amazing demonstration of affection."



A great *luau* was given in his honor and "the natives, shedding tears of joy to have their beloved friend with them again, brought presents and thanked him for his loyalty. The great *Haili* choir sang in his honor."

In January, 1896, Queen Liliuokalani was released from parole but forbidden to leave the island of Oahu. "I moved to my ocean retreat at Waikiki," she wrote, "where friends, still fearful to come to Washington Place, felt free to join me—to weep, to sing, and to converse freely at last of the tragic happenings of the past three years. My life at the seashore was tranquil but uneventful. . . ."

She was biding her time until that hoped-for day when she would be free to visit the United States and present her case to the American people.

## CHAPTER 33

### Queen Liliuokalani Visits America

DURING the following years Island events were recorded in vivid, pungent terms by the *Independent*, a newspaper owned by a group of Portuguese-Hawaiians and edited by Edmund Norrie, a Dane, whose rapier thrusts goaded the PGs to impotent fury. Impotent because Norrie spoke for a large group of foreigners whose homelands were demanding indemnity from the Republic of Hawaii for illegal imprisonment of their nationals. With suits for more than a million dollars pending, the usurper government moved cautiously.

Published "without government patronage or paltry pelf from the countinghouses of the missionaries," the *Inde-*

*pendent's* militant editor felt free to write boldly, frankly, of the vagaries of what he called "Our funny jay little republic." In spicy terms he described "our puppet show . . . manipulated by those who worked to convert Hawaiians into Christians and their lands into cash." Jeering at their efforts "to marry the truly great American Republic to this funny little abortion we live in," he said: "An oligarchy dressed in the feathers of a republic fools nobody . . . *Viva la humbug!*"

With keen delight he recorded "the aping of royalty by the new rulers," describing how the wife of the chief justice took the seat intended for the wife of the minister of interior at the opening of the Legislature "and held it despite the black looks exchanged." He ridiculed their assumption of "Hawaiian folkways," quoted an *Advertiser* story saying that when President Dole traveled on Hawaii "Pele gave recognition of his presence by signs and symbols. . . . Things they termed heathenish in the queen they now take for themselves. . . . One official even had the gall to ask for use of a feather cloak. . . . The request was refused."

When belongings of the royal family, formerly reported "stolen by soldiers from Iolani Palace," turned up in the possession of government officials, the *Independent* said: "The crown jewels were not stolen as charged, but taken by the new overlords." The Cousins' Society, suggested editor Norrie, "should be given a standing in the statutes of the country" so great was its influence. Repeatedly he warned that the Hawaiian Historical Society "is falsifying history . . . to be palmed off on the unknowing as true history" and wrote angrily of "those who defame the Hawaiians in order to justify their acts against them."

Reminding that the PGs had brought writer Mary Krout from America in 1893 to write their version of the over-

throw of the monarchy, he said they were now bringing writer Kate Field "who is expected to blow the bassoon of praise for them. . . . Feted, dined, all expenses paid . . . kept carefully away from the Hawaiians and their supporters, these writers see what they are told to see—for a consideration." He quoted the *Washington Chronicle*: "The unbiased historian who is fearless and intelligent will describe the rape of the Hawaiian Islands . . . as a job of money-grabbing engineered by commercial schemers."

To the Hawaiians editor Norrie reiterated: "Take heart, dear people . . . the verdict of history will be on your side. . . . Time will straighten out the false pictures of the queen and of Kalakaua who was betrayed by the men he made rich . . . and of Walter Murray Gibson, whose only fault was that he loved the Hawaiian people."

Recalling PG charges of extravagance against King Kalakaua, Norrie detailed the present "looting of the treasury . . . junkets to America with unlimited expense accounts . . . a ten-thousand-dollar-a-month army . . . spies to shadow all released prisoners . . . going into debt at the rate of a million dollars a year and borrowing the money from themselves . . . at a neat profit." He quoted a warning by B. F. Dillingham on "the bad financial condition of the country," adding, "but the *lenders* now rule the country . . . and they will continue to borrow."

Giving names and dates of government contracts awarded to "family pets" over lower bids by royalist contractors, he told of the "family-owned" meat market, of government supplies brought from "family stores" and quoted the Rev. Peck as urging establishment of a liquor store "to be owned and run by men of principles . . . themselves!" To cap the climax, he gave details of the burning of "smuggled opium" which later proved to be merely mud and molasses

"while the real opium was sent away to Canada to be sold for enriching their private purses. . . . And they dare to talk about opium scandals under the monarchy . . . and of 'Gibson extravagances.' "

Dismissal of the Royal Mausoleum custodian with resulting damage to the stately palm trees which became warped and twisted for lack of water, prompted another blast against the Government, and when it was announced that the majestic statue of Kamehameha the Great was to be torn down and sold for scrap, Norrie wrote: "That is falling pretty low. . . ." Only his angry protests stopped the desecration after the auctioneer's platform was erected beside the historic statue.

Repeatedly Norrie compared the present Government to that under direction of Walter Murray Gibson who, he declared, was "their peer in most things . . . superior as a statesman, and, above all, a gentleman." He contrasted Gibson's "tender and gentle treatment of the lepers" with the current policy of giving them "*poi* substitutes which aggravate their illness."

Many puritanical laws discarded by King Kalakaua were now revived. Dancing of the *hula* was forbidden; Sunday concerts were stopped "by those who consider it wicked to listen to music under the canopy of God's pure sky." The concerts were finally resumed but "only European classics permitted." When a band in Hilo, led by Godfrey Affonso, asked permission to give Sunday concerts of Portuguese music the request was refused by the attorney general because they "might play music of such a character that no public benefit would result from it."

But it was in taking the national census, said Norrie, that "they exceed themselves in official absurdity." Instructions on the census blanks read: "Illegitimate children are not to



be reported." The final figures (minus illegitimate children, it is presumed) gave a total of 109,020, of whom 39,504 were Hawaiians, 45,723 Asiatics, more than 20,000 Europeans, and less than 3,000 Americans.

Throughout Norrie's criticism of republic officials he always wrote kindly of President Dole: "He does the best he can, considering the fact that the planters hold the bayonets upon which he rests his presidential fundament." When it was rumored he might resign both the *Independent* and the *Bulletin* begged him not to do so: "You are the best friend the Hawaiians have in the Government." Norrie praised Dole's refusal to make the Hawaiians buy the Olaa lands on the island of Hawaii, given them under lease by Queen Liliuokalani, as he was urged to do: "It's an old trick . . . so the land can then be taken from them. . . . It comes with ill grace from those who have lived rent free on Hawaiian lands ever since their ancestors landed here."

But it was on the question of labor that the *Independent* grew most bitter. "In an 'after us the deluge' manner, they are flooding the land with Japanese. . . . Continuation of this policy will lose the friendship and good will of the United States and gain—well, gain more Japs. . . . They are importing them by the thousands . . . more than 13,000 brought in this year. . . . They will continue to pour Japanese in here until there are enough of them to pour us out!"

Despite the fact that the 1896 Legislature was composed of hand-picked members it became embroiled in many controversies. At its close, one hundred days later, the *Independent* listed as its one accomplishment passage of a bill introduced by the Hon. Lorrin A. Thurston "to put a tax of three dollars on female dogs." Said Norrie: "It should be called the Female-Dog Legislature." (Six years later,

when a Hawaiian-controlled Legislature attempted to repeal the tax, the *Advertiser* attached that name to it.)

Election of William McKinley as president of the United States in the fall of 1896 brought jubilation to the PGs in Hawaii who were confident that annexation was now assured. A few months previously Queen Liliuokalani had been given a full pardon and she now hastened her plans for a visit to Washington. Accompanied by her lady in waiting, Mrs. Kia Nahaloehua, and her secretary, Joseph Heleluhe, she departed in December, "and for the first time in years I drew a long breath of freedom," she wrote.

America's welcome to the deposed Hawaiian sovereign was a revelation to her. The Americans, having been deluged with unfavorable propaganda by her enemies, were amazed to find her a gracious, cultured gentlewoman. Wrote newsman Julius Palmer of Boston who accompanied her much of the time: "Everywhere she was addressed by her proper title . . . wherever she goes people want to entertain her . . . and she is besieged with requests from those who wish to go to the Islands and fight to restore her throne."

Many newspapers, formerly unfriendly to her cause, became her ardent supporters, among them the Boston *Herald* and the Boston *Evening Post*. Mary Durham, writing in a Washington paper, said: "No one who meets her believes the tales that some in the Islands told about her." And a Chicago paper concluded: "The mud thrown upon the queen by her defamers has stuck to themselves." Wrote Harriet P. Spofford in *Harper's Bazaar*:

"There rises to greet you, with a slow and singular grace which is majesty itself . . . a beautifully gowned woman. . . . She offers you her hand which is small and beautifully shaped. . . . Her voice is like music, low, clear, but pene-

trating . . . her smile most lovely; her large liquid eyes at once soft and brilliant and very beautiful. She addresses you in perfect English; her conversation is interesting and entertaining but does not touch upon personal matters. . . . She is a deeply religious woman . . . and never makes unkind remarks about her enemies individually."

Of "the beheading story circulated by her enemies" the writer said: "She never used the word beheaded. . . . She believed that treason in her kingdom should be treated as treason everywhere, but as a matter of record her official statement promised amnesty to all. It was owing to her horror of bloodshed that she surrendered her kingdom, relying on . . . the protection of the United States. . . . She loves her people passionately, pitifully . . . and knew that armed resistance would mean their extinction."

In Boston the queen was warmly welcomed by her late husband's relatives, the Dominis family, and was royally entertained by state officials. All except one of the Boston newspapers were friendly to her and statements made by Republic of Hawaii Consul Gorham Gillman were effectively answered by writer George W. Mellen who declared that the "jingo fever" stirring America was due solely to paid propagandists from Hawaii.

Late in January, 1897, the queen went on to Washington where she settled down in the Shoreham Hotel to await developments following the inauguration of President McKinley in March. She wished to live quietly but soon found that impossible, so great was the interest in her. "Flowers, fruits, cakes, and other tokens of love came daily," she wrote. So great were the number of people who asked to call that she finally agreed to receive guests between eight and nine each evening. "Never fewer than 200 applied for

invitations . . . and on monthly reception days exceeded 500."

President Cleveland was away on a hunting trip when the queen arrived in Washington and the PG propagandists there reported to the Islands that he had gone away to avoid seeing her. However, immediately on his return January 25 he invited her to the White House, and a few days later Mrs. Cleveland invited her to tea, asking her to come fifteen minutes before the other guests that they might talk informally together.

Congressmen, diplomats, and many navy officers came to call: "My rooms were always filled with flowers. . . . My wearing of the Jewel of the Mystic Shrine (my husband was a 33rd Degree Mason) brought many favors and friends." She was pleased to note that most Americans "had little respect for those adventurers claiming to be both Hawaiians and Americans." Wrote one newsman: "The sympathies of Washington society are with the queen."

Not all of the American press was friendly, however, and she was shocked to find that some "have been deceived by the PG propagandists."

During this period of waiting the queen occupied herself with writing her book *Hawaii's Story* and in translating into English the ancient *Kumulipo* chant. As a gift for her many friends and admirers, she published a new edition of her song *Aloha Oe* and within a short time: "The edition is nearly exhausted; it is very popular."

On March 1 an official invitation was delivered to the queen for inauguration ceremonies at the capital. The card, assigning her a seat in the Diplomatic Gallery, read: "Her Majesty Liliuokalani." She also received an invitation to the



inaugural ball at the White House and was invited by the president of the Central National Bank to view the parade from the windows of his bank. The *Independent* reported that this official recognition of the queen by American officials infuriated the PG delegation "which is continually snubbed in Washington . . . not invited to official parties."

President McKinley made no mention of Hawaii in his inaugural address and, to the further dismay of the PG delegation, shortly afterward the Senate struck out the clause in the sugar schedule which protected Hawaii's treaty rights. "Irritated by the pressures brought upon them . . . and by the planters coolie policy," said the *Independent*.

The Hawaii situation was not the only one disturbing American officials. Difficulties with Cuba were developing and the jingo press of the country was trying to work up a war fever, the "imperialists" and the "manifest destiny" crowd catching at every straw that might serve their purpose. The action of Japan at this time played right into their hands.

Since 1894 Japanese emigration to Hawaii had been conducted by the Japanese Government under certain regulations agreed upon by the two countries. It was soon apparent that fraud was being practiced by Japan and in early 1897 a thousand immigrants were refused admission to the Islands. Japan immediately made threats against the republic and sent a warship to Honolulu demanding \$100,000 indemnity. The PGs flooded America with stories that Japan would take the Islands if the United States did not. Editor Norrie quoted Commissioner Hatch in Washington as writing to Minister of Interior Henry Cooper in Honolulu that "turning back those Japanese was the cleverest stroke of diplomacy made yet in favor of annexation."

On June 16, 1897, President McKinley sent to the Senate a treaty for annexation of the Hawaiian Islands. Shocked by the suddenness of this action, the queen sent an official protest. In a lengthy review of all that had gone before, she wrote: "I ask the honorable Senate of the United States to decline to ratify said treaty. . . ." To the American people she said: "You, the people of this great and good nation, are too free from suspicion. You have no idea how you have been deceived. . . ." And in a final plea: "Oh, honest Americans, as Christians hear my plea for my people. Their form of government is as dear to them as yours is precious to you. . . . I beg you, do not covet the little vineyard of Naboth's. . . . As you deal with me and my people, kindly, generously, and justly, so may the Great Ruler deal with the grand and glorious nation of the United States of America."

The annexation treaty did not find easy going in the United States Senate because of burgeoning opposition throughout the country. Said the *New York Times*: "If we annex the Hawaiian Islands we shall hold them by tainted title." The *San Francisco Call* objected to "making the United States a fence for stolen goods," as did the *Louisville Courier Journal*, the *Kansas City Times*, the *Boston Herald*, and many others. Declared the *San Francisco News*: "All the great newspapers are against . . . the usurpers. . . . Instead of pampering and making them rich they should be shunned as deceivers and thieves."

Carl Schurz, in *Harper's Weekly*, said the sugar planters would ask first for annexation, then for statehood: "The Americans should be prepared . . . for the wild scheme which is likely to be sprung upon us. . . . Someday, owing to some exigency, they would be precipitated as a State of the Union and . . . through their senators and representa-

tives take part in governing the rest of this Union." He suggested that the American people "ponder that!"

In reply to these expressions of fear PG Secretary of Finance Samuel Damon, visiting in Washington, gave assurance that Hawaii would never ask for statehood because ". . . someday we might hold the balance of power [in the United States Senate] and that would not be desirable. . . . If we can come into the Union as a territory . . . that would suit us just fine." In Boston Chief Justice Judd told the Boston *Herald* that the Islands "must be ruled always by oligarchy. . . . It is the only way they can be governed. . . . As to the question of statehood, I do not think that any sensible man in the Islands expects or wants it. A territorial government as a permanency is what is desired." W. D. Alexander added that the planters wanted annexation "so as to stop the Asiatics who are flooding Hawaii." Retorted editor Norrie: "Hypocritical cant!"

On February 14, 1897, a group of American congressmen arrived in Honolulu to make an inspection. The committee was headed by Senator J. T. Morgan who, reportedly, was already committed to side with the planters. From the moment of their arrival, the PG newspapers carried stories purporting to prove that "All Hawaiians want annexation." The investigators, said the *Independent*, "are winned, dined . . . and shown what the planters want them to see. . . . They are being prevented from seeing and hearing the truth."

An anti-annexation meeting was called and more than 3,000 people of all nationalities attended. All of the congressmen were there except Senator Morgan. Among the speakers were four eminent foreigners, Joseph C. Carter, James A. Campbell, H. R. McIntyre, and S. C. Allen. Carter, reported the *Independent*, "made a simple, direct,

sincere statement saying he would not excite their passion, merely wanted them to feel a normal righteous indignation." Advising the Hawaiians to be "calm but strong," he assured them that "patience will surely be rewarded sooner or later"; he urged them not to oppose annexation "but to fight for the vote." Expressing faith that America would deal justly with them, he closed by saying, "As an offspring of American parents I am ashamed of these things." Said the *Independent*: "The Hawaiians wept at his tender regard for them."

The "American Union Party," organized by the annexationists, gave the congressmen a list of pledges including "No more Japanese will be brought in." Warned the *Independent*: "500 have already arrived this month, 1,200 more are on the way. . . . Thousands come in as students to work on the plantations but Washington is given figures only of those who come under contract. . . . Lies, all lies. . . . The United States should be told the truth . . . about this Asiatic colony."

Two members of the congressional party were not easily fooled. Senators Pettigrew of South Dakota and Dubois of Idaho, after making their own inquiries, reported they ". . . couldn't find a single Hawaiian in favor of annexation . . . a plebiscite would show the people to be almost unanimously against it."

A graphic report of their visit was written later by Miss Anna Berry, daughter of Congressman Berry of Kentucky, and published in the *Kentucky Post*. She told of attending an anti-annexation meeting in Hilo:

"The meeting opened with prayer by a native Hawaiian minister, Rev. Stephen Desha, in whose veins flows the blood of one of Kentucky's noblest governors. . . . Even one unfamiliar with the language felt his earnestness, his



eloquence. . . . Suddenly there was silence. The crowd parted and a woman entered—Mrs. Kaihelani Campbell, president of the Hawaiian Patriotic League. She wore a flower boa around her neck. She was absolutely queenly in her dignity and repose. She said: ‘Stand firm, my friends. Love of country means more to you and me than anything else. Have courage and patience; our time will come. Sign this petition to the President of the Great Republic and tell the American people who love their liberty what we are feeling here. How many will sign?’ Every man and woman held a hand on high.”

In closing her report Miss Berry said: “Will America take from a weaker people that which is most dear to their native hearts? . . . American people, you are the jury. What do you say?”

One reporter accompanying the congressional party stated: “During our entire stay we never heard a Hawaiian say anything ugly about America.”

After the congressional party departed the *Independent* reported: “The Government . . . is bringing in 2,000 Japanese within the next ninety days . . . so as to get them in before annexation.” In reply to PG editorials saying that “Americans are eager for annexation,” editor Norrie wrote: “The majority of Americans know nothing about it . . . nor do they care.”

As the year 1897 drew to a close the twenty-two-year-old Princess Kaiulani arrived in California en route to her Island home. Feted royally by San Francisco society, she was described by Miriam Michelson in the *Call*:

“She is beautiful . . . and needs not the exaggeration of newspaper gallantry. . . . There is no portrait that does justice to her expressive, small, proud face. She is exquisitely slender and graceful, holds herself like a princess, like a

Hawaiian—and I know of no simile more descriptive of grace and dignity than this last. . . . \*Her accent says London; her figure says New York; her heart says Hawaii. . . . But she is more than a beautiful pretender to an abdicated throne. . . . She has been made a woman of the world by the life she has led.”

## CHAPTER 34

### An Ancient Nation Dies

THE annexation treaty which failed in the 1897 session of Congress was reintroduced in 1898, and to lobby for it the Republic of Hawaii sent President Dole to Washington with \$10,000 for expenses. From him by first post came: “Stop all Japanese immigration until after the annexation bill is put through Congress.”

Opposition to annexation was far from dead. The Springfield *Republican* warned that “someday the Islands will try for statehood, which might eventually be given them by some political party eager for their votes in competing for control of the United States Senate.” *Frank Leslie’s Weekly* listed twenty-five reasons against it, and the New York *World*, calling it “The Great South Sea Swindle,” suggested that Dole had better have saved his expense money and applied it to the whopping debts the republic had run up: “Dole is the con man, come to sell us a gold brick.”

The New York *Tribune* said: “The salvation of the American Republic requires the limitation of statehood strictly to this continent.” And the San Francisco *Call*,

referring to the complaint of oligarchy leaders that "the Hawaiians oppose progress," asked: "Is contentment really a sin of such heinous nature?"

Senator John Sharp Williams of Mississippi always referred to the PGs as "carpetbaggers," and the New York *Evening Post* ran a scathing article on William Armstrong's references to Hawaiians as ". . . aliens, as he elegantly calls the people whose land he wishes to steal." Said the San Francisco *Call*: "We are not highway robbers." Senator S. M. White of California based his opposition on the flood of Japanese arriving weekly in Hawaii.

But the most telling argument presented against annexation was that made by Representative Henry Johnson of Indiana who, in "a brilliant, sincere, convincing speech," said in part: "If we adhere to that which is right, if we are true to our teachings and traditions, events will vindicate our choice. . . . We will then thank God with grateful hearts that in the hour of temptation we had the moral courage to say *no*."

Washington newsmen reported that "the crowded galleries broke into frequent applause as he denounced the trickery involved," and in Hawaii editor Norrie wrote: "It is thought that his speech has turned the tide against annexation . . . and the coolie rings." He added that the planters, "just in case annexation is granted . . . are rushing in Japanese at the rate of 5,000 a month . . . while hypocritically crying that they are afraid of Japan."

Word now came from Washington that Congress was "considering an amendment that would prevent Hawaii from ever becoming a state. . . . President Dole has agreed to this." Came next the report: "Annexation is dead. Dole did not make a good impression; seemed apologetic." On his return to Honolulu, Norrie wrote: "Mr. Dole returns

with a doleful face . . . having learned that the people of the United States do not endorse such infamy." Publication of Queen Liliuokalani's book, *Hawaii's Story*, at this time prompted a *Public Opinion* reviewer to prophesy that it would greatly influence American thinking, already crystallizing into opposition to annexation of the Hawaiian Islands.

But just at this moment came a sudden turn in international affairs that was to change the course of American foreign policy. An uprising of Cubans against their Spanish overlords necessitated sending an American battleship into Cuban waters for the protection of United States citizens, and on February 15, 1898, a terrific explosion aboard the USS *Maine* killed 260 Americans. Immediately a group of militant American newspapers launched the battle cry "Remember the *Maine*"—and war fever began to spread across the land.

On April 21 diplomatic relations with Spain were broken; three days later Spain declared war on the United States; and on May 1 Commodore George Dewey, commanding the American fleet in the Pacific, attacked and destroyed the Spanish Navy squadron in Manila Bay. Within a few weeks American soldiers were on their way to Cuba and the Philippines and young Theodore Roosevelt, Assistant Secretary of the Navy, recruiting the "Rough Riders," a troop of Western cowboys, sailed for Cuba and fame as "The hero of San Juan Hill."

In Hawaii, the annexationists were jubilant, "Missionary luck" they called it. The *Independent* suggested editorially that in reply to their happily quoted "Remember the *Maine*" the Hawaiians adopt the slogan "Remember the Missionaries."

When the USS *Charleston*, laden with troops, came into



Honolulu Harbor on the morning of May 28, 1898, it was given a joyous welcome. Church bells rang, whistles shrieked, the Hawaiian Band played gay martial music, and everywhere American flags were flying as American soldiers marched down the gangplank to the cheers of a multitude gathered on the wharf.

Among those waiting to welcome them were "many beautiful Hawaiian girls" and, as had happened before and would happen again in other years, other lands, the fine, warmhearted, forthright American boys captured their hearts. Happy days reached a climax on the night before the troops sailed on to the Philippines when a group of Hawaiians gave a great *luau* in their honor; the troops, in turn, showered gifts upon all, from grandmothers to babies. So definitely had the American boys taken a stand on the side of the Hawaiians that even the *Independent* praised them in a warm editorial: "God bless them!" Editor Norrie quoted the Hawaiians as saying, "These are a different kind of Americans."

In Washington the treaty of annexation was still having hard sledding in the Senate where it was bitterly fought by Senator Stephen White of California and Senator R. S. Pettigrew of South Dakota. Treaty advocates, convinced by now that it would be impossible to get the two-thirds vote necessary for its passage, changed their tactics and introduced a joint resolution which, under the law, would require only a simple majority.

In a last-ditch effort to defeat it, Senator Bacon of Georgia introduced a resolution requiring a vote by "all people of the Hawaiian Islands." This was rejected. When the resolution was finally submitted for vote on July 6, it passed by a partisan vote of 209 Republicans to 91 Demo-

crats. On the following day it was signed by President McKinley. Said former President Cleveland:

"Hawaii is ours. . . . as I contemplate the means used to complete the outrage, I am ashamed of the whole affair."

Word of the treaty's passage reached Honolulu July 31 and the annexationists started a tremendous victory celebration. But their happiness was quickly dimmed by demands for an increase of wages by Japanese laborers who said "If this is not granted, as soon as the American flag is hoisted we will demand \$25 a month; if imprisoned, we will appeal to the United States Supreme Court on the grounds of slavery. We have plenty of money to fight our battle."

Japan had protested American annexation of the Islands on the grounds that it would "upset the balance of the Pacific" and now her nationals in Hawaii were following the orders of the Japanese consul. "The day of reckoning . . ." said the *Independent*.

In an editorial headed ALOHA HAWAII Norrie wrote:

The Hawaiians as a nation have ceased to exist. . . . The Great Republic across the sea has added another feather to the screaming eagle by taking a few islands in the mid-Pacific from a kind and gentle people. . . . We have lost the battle and we do not cry over the milk which has been spilt. But we ask the men who got drunk and hilarious yesterday to remember the tears that were shed . . . in many Hawaiian homes where love of country and true patriotism hold sway.

To the Hawaiians Norrie said: "Do not sit down and bemoan your fate as did the Children of Israel. . . . Under

American control you will no longer be disfranchised; you will be once again free men. . . . Leave no stone unturned which may help you to be a power in your own land. For the sake of your children take a bold stand and assume the rights of American citizens."

And once again he reminded: "The battle is lost, but the *Independent* calls you to rally again and respond to the motto ALOHA HAWAII!"

When it was announced that annexation ceremonies would take place in Honolulu on August 12, 1898, American newspapers prepared to send their top-flight reporters to cover the momentous event. The San Francisco *Chronicle* sent Mabel Craft who, arriving in advance and remaining for many months afterward, made a comprehensive study of Hawaiian life, later published in *Hawaii Nei* (This Hawaii), a beautifully written book in which her keen understanding of events was warmed by sympathy for the Hawaiians.

She found "the old island life fading like a wraith" but, remaining unspoiled, "a generous, hospitable people with handsome brown faces, illuminated by as kindly hearts as God ever placed in human breasts. Wrong has not embittered them. They give you greeting for your own sake, hoping only that you may see the truth and do them justice."

She praised those missionaries who had stood by the Hawaiians—"The many who died poor, more honor to them. . . . There were some good men in the republic but the Government never felt sure of itself . . . and any criticism was put down with all the savage intolerance of those responsible for that little episode at Salem."

On August 2 Queen Liliuokalani returned home on the

*Gaelic*, arriving at two o'clock in the morning. Miss Craft mingled with the many hundreds of Hawaiians waiting on the dock to welcome her.

"The *Gaelic* slid deftly into place, but the natives gave no sound other than sobbing softly. Then the queen appeared, walking down the gangway on the arm of Prince David—stately, dignified, as if it were a royal progress. . . .

"Her face looked sad and worn. Still that deadly silence! Finally she broke the spell: '*Aloha, alooooha*' in a sweet, low voice. Instantly a storm of *alohas* broke from the crowd and they pressed to the gangplank as though they would touch her. Suddenly a wizened old woman struck up a weird chant, rising and falling in barbaric cadence. Lifting her arms to heaven, all the years and all the teachings . . . of the missionaries seemed to fall away as a mantle and it was again old Hawaii . . . the beautiful land of the Kamehamehas."

Joining the crowd, Miss Craft went to Washington Place. "The driveway was lined with attendants holding flaming *kukui* torches. The lights from within the great house streamed out through the trees . . . the fragrance of jasmine and lilies was almost overpowering."

After the queen was seated in the reception room "her old retainers passed before her, falling on their hands and knees and walking thus to their chiefess. . . . She called each one by name and wiped her own eyes as tears fell on her hand."

Throughout the night ceremonial chanting filled the gardens "as priestesses kept up melancholy *olis*, recounting deeds of valor of ancestors of the royal house, set to barbaric music reminiscent of *Aida*. . . . It began to grow pink and pearl beyond the leaves of the foliage . . . and the coconut



palms swayed in the first chill of dawn, still the natives crooned among the trees and still the queen opened her heart to those whom she trusts. . . .

"Thus the night came to an end, but no bright-tinted day could eclipse the memory of that strange, sweet-scented night when under the moon and the *kukui* flame the queen who has no throne except in the hearts of her countrymen came again to her country which will be loyal to her as long as there is a pure-blooded Hawaiian in the Islands."

Miss Craft agreed with Norrie's denunciation of the annexationist plans for a gala demonstration at the lowering of the Hawaiian flag. He wrote: "Heartless indeed are they. . . . In that last act let it be remembered that even in death Hawaii was gentle. . . . Let her glide quietly to rest undisturbed by shouts of the ignorant and the unsympathetic." Pleased to learn that the ceremony was to be "entrusted to so true a gentleman as Admiral Miller, U.S.N. . . . who in his every move avoids hurting the feelings of the Hawaiians," Norrie added: "His courteous conduct on this sorrowful day . . . will redound to his immortal credit."

When the American commissioners arrived for the ceremony, Norrie wrote: "We bid them welcome. May they act as honorable and just Americans toward the Hawaiians." And later: ". . . they have won the hearts of Hawaiians by their kindly manner and their willingness to listen to all sides. . . . We desire to place that on the record." Even the behavior of the sailors, he said, "is beyond reproach."

The Hawaiian Patriotic League presented a petition to the commissioners asking ". . . that we be granted the full rights of American citizenship . . . that we may not become aliens and pariahs in our own country to be treated like a conquered people. . . ."

Norrie's editorial in the *Independent* August 12, 1898: "Farewell, dear flag—farewell, dear emblem of love and hospitality, of a trusting, confiding, and childlike people with hearts that know no guile. . . . We who have known you in your hours of happiness . . . love you as if your emblem were that which floated over our own birth land."

Miss Craft described the final ceremony: "The raising of the American flag over the capital of the Kamehamehas was impressive—not because of the size of the crowd, because it was not large; not for the tumult, for it was strangely silent; not for the elaborate ceremonies, for they were very simple—but because on that day a nationality was snuffed out like a spent candle, and a bigger, clearer light set up in its place.

"It was not a joyous occasion as far-off America may have imagined. When it was over, women wiped their eyes and men who had worked for years for annexation said, with a throb in the throat, how sad it was. As for the Hawaiians—they were not there. They were not on the streets; they were not in the stores. They were shut up in their houses, from the queen's stately mansion to the meanest shed; windows and doors closed—as lonely and somber as places of death.

"In front of the Executive Building there were Americans, Portuguese, Japanese, Chinese—but no Hawaiians. The ceremonies had the tension of an execution. Few Americans had the heart to gloat over this sorry triumph. For in Hawaii is the old heartache that drove the Britons to the mountain fastnesses of Wales; the same spirit that filled the beaten hosts of Harold . . . under the Conqueror; the bitterness that throbbed in the burning veins of Southerners in the days after the Civil War.

"Admiral Miller, with fine and rare restraint, prevented any signs of jubilation among the annexationists in their

hour of triumph. There was no speechmaking except a few dignified words from Minister Sewell; no spread eagle; no cheering.

"The day began with heavy showers and threatening skies . . . by ten o'clock the crowd began to gather . . . and still the atmosphere of an execution grew. Everybody felt as though a man were condemned to die at twelve o'clock, and the suspense in the air was as horrible as that which rests over a field on the eve of battle. . . . The platform was entwined with Hawaiian and American flags. On one side, President Dole and his cabinet, the other, Minister Sewell, Admiral Miller, and his staff representing America . . . wives, diplomats in the rear. . . .

"A whiff of martial music announced the approach of the National Guard carrying the Hawaiian flag . . . behind them came the bluejackets of the USS *Philadelphia* . . . carrying the American flag. At eleven forty-five President Dole, grave of face, entered with his cabinet. . . . Then came Minister Sewell and Admiral Miller. A gentle rain began to fall and the signs of oppression grew as the atmosphere became heavier and more difficult to breathe. There was a prayer . . . for the safety of Hawaii's native sons and daughters—while Minister Sewell fingered restlessly a large official-looking envelope . . . containing a copy of the resolution of annexation.

"President Dole offered the sovereignty and public property of the Hawaiian Islands to Mr. Sewell; his voice rose in the clear tones of a bell on the words 'with full confidence in the honor, justice, and friendship of the American people. . . .' Mr. Sewell accepted the transfer 'in the name of the United States' with a brief address, and thus was heralded the great event for which everyone had been

. . . feeling that qualm akin to seasickness with which sensitive people await an event that is desired, yet dreaded.

"Then the quavering sound of *Hawai'i Pono'i* was heard; there was a sob and a heartbreak in it, and before the end came an almost complete breakdown as . . . the natives threw away their instruments and fled around the corner out of sight and hearing. . . . Some wept audibly and were not ashamed . . . among them the Hawaiian wife of a cabinet officer who had to come but wept throughout the ceremony. . . . She did not see the Hawaiian flag as it sank for the last time.

". . . everyone held their breath as the beautiful flag of Hawaii trembled for an instant, then slowly, gracefully sank down the halyards to the ground where it was caught by loving hands and reverently folded. Just as it started its descent, the clouds broke away and a square of the blue Hawaiian sky showed itself as if in farewell and blessing . . . and many upon whom the flag had no claim, wept for sympathy. . . . Down on the water front boatmen bared and bowed their heads as religious peasants at sound of the far-flung Angelus.

"At the moment the tension was so great it could not have been borne a moment longer the admiral gave the order: Colors roll off! and cheery American bugles cut the air. It was a tremendous relief. Then the strains of *The Star-Spangled Banner* from the *Philadelphia's* band—and everyone who knew the words hoped from the depths of a fervent heart that this banner might wave over territory that should be in reality a land of the free and a home of the brave.

"The American flag by this time was climbing to its lofty position and again was heard the salute to the new sover-



eignty as though the guns were saying The King is dead; Long live the King! The flag hung limp and lifeless for a moment . . . then it caught the breath of a passing breeze and flung itself in wide magnificence. Then for the first time there was a cheer—strong from the direction of the Citizens' Guard, weak from the places where were seated Americans of alien blood.

"Minister Sewell read the President's proclamation . . . there followed the giving and taking of the oath. . . . The hands of the president and his cabinet shook like aspen leaves. Then the band played *Columbia, the Gem of the Ocean* . . . and the crowd filtered slowly out through the gates, glancing back at the new flag. The skies ceased to weep over it, and the sun came out and warmed and blessed it."

The next scene was at the barracks where the National Guard took the oath of allegiance: "Some of the Hawaiians stood silent . . . President Dole, speaking gently, told them that the Hawaiian flag had gone down in honorable surrender—but the soldiers hung their heads as though no surrender was ever honorable. . . . President Dole presented the flag to the new Americans and, officially, Annexation Day was over."

That night there was a ball in the throne room of Iolani Palace "where dark, disapproving faces of rows of Kamehamehas looked down on dancers from every country under the sun except their own. There was scarcely a Hawaiian face among them all. . . .

"Long after midnight the lights went out under the stems of the ghostly royal palms, keeping their vigil of years—and Honolulu slept under the protection of the American flag."

In conclusion Miss Craft said: "The feathered monarchy has gone forever. It is a pity that the peaceful pageantry of

the little island kingdom could not have survived. The climate fitted it; the landscape suited it; the natives adored it. But, as one young planter put it tersely: 'We don't want a picturesque government. We want one under which we can make money.'

"The death knell that had sounded was not for them—Why repine?" Miss Craft's final comment: "May you be happy, Fair Hawaii Nei, little sister of the States."

## CHAPTER 35

### The Islands Mark Time

THE Hawaiian Islands were now officially a part of the American Union, but until passage of an Organic Act by Congress they would continue under the laws of the Republic of Hawaii. Nevertheless, a change of mood was immediately perceptible. Said one Hawaiian, "It is like the fresh trade winds have come back. You feel *free* again!"

"This confidence in the integrity of the United States," wrote a visiting newsman, "is amazing. Even among those still bitter about annexation you hear no criticism of America. Anger and bitterness are directed solely against those believed to have betrayed them."

Commented the *Independent*: "The faith of the Hawaiians in God's protection has never been shaken . . . now they are willing to believe that through America justice will be done them. . . ." As evidence, editor Norrie of the *Independent* added that the United States military forces "giving first jobs to the rebels of 1895, who have not been al-

lowed to work under the republic, gives the Hawaiians a good impression of the real America."

A reporter for the San Francisco *Call* described Queen Liliuokalani as "scepterless, but regal in manner . . . of which no republic could rob her. Self-respect clothes her as a garment. . . . No bitter word for those who have so cruelly injured her. . . . She recalls the noble chatelaine of the Old Regime, unshaken by the tumult of Terror, with naught but highborn pity for her persecutors."

Prior to annexation, the American Government had made certain demands upon the Republic of Hawaii among which were settlement of their difficulties with Japan over the turning back of her nationals (settled by payment of \$75,000 by the republic); the stopping of all Japanese immigration; and complete pardons for all political prisoners of 1895, still held under parole. In commenting on this last belated act of justice, the *Independent* published the list of those who had died as a result of imprisonment, the latest being Mrs. Charles Wilson," . . . ill ever since her imprisonment with the queen . . . her son John (who had just completed the building of the famed Pali highway) was the center of her life and his well-deserved success brought her great happiness."

The Hawaiians, cheered by America's manifestations of justice and with full confidence that they would not be punished for such action, now brought out their long-secreted hatbands bearing a printed slogan: *Ku'u Hae Aloha* (I love my flag.) The next move of the "Rebels of '95" was to bring into the open their secret organization *He Hui Kaulana i Laeahi* (veterans of famed Diamond Head battle). Led by young John Lane, they marched to Washington Place on September 2, 1898, in tribute to their queen

on her sixty-fourth birthday, and the afternoon was spent in music, song, dancing, and patriotic speeches "without the slightest fear that America would object to such activities."

Came next a meeting of the "rebels" at San Souci, Wai-kiki home of the Greek, George Lycurgus. They had met secretly each year since their release from prison; now they celebrated openly with music, song, and reminiscences that ran late into the night. Wrote editor Norrie: "The outrage has not been forgotten . . . but all are eagerly anticipating the new era. . . ."

Nor were the rebels of '95 the only ones who felt suddenly free to speak their minds. The extravagance of government officials "who travel constantly, accompanied by secretaries and doctors," had been criticized by many. Now B. F. Dillingham's sarcastic comment "upon what meat doth this our Caesar feed . . . ?" prompted the *Independent* to say "he is the first of the faithful flock to publicly roast the oligarchy. . . . He prefers open warfare to the stabbing in the dark he has been getting."

Editor Norrie published the names of paid propagandists reportedly demanding life pensions from the PGs: Gorham Gillman of Boston "because of his praise of them in United States papers"; William Armstrong for his speechmaking tours; the Rev. Sereno Bishop for his articles attacking the queen; Senator J. T. Morgan for piloting the annexation treaty through Congress; and Mary Krout who wrote news articles and a book in praise of the PGs and condemnation of Hawaiians. In addition, many professional propagandists still working in Washington were reported sending in bills amounting to "more than a million dollars." A report from the Capital said: "They are now moving heaven and earth



to keep the Hawaiians from being given the vote . . . but we are confident that America will not permit such an injustice."

A dispute over choice of first governor for the Territory of Hawaii started a feud between the oligarchy and its auxiliary the American Union Annexation Club. "Both sides are angry," reported the *Independent*, "they do not spare each other and fur is flying." In publishing the names of claimants, editor Norrie made personal comment on each.

First in line was said to be Dr. J. S. McGrew who, having carried their banner as "The Father of Annexation," felt he should be rewarded. "Amazing audacity!" said one PG leader, and Norrie, welcoming McGrew to the bench reserved for outcasts said: "You and the *Independent* now have many points of agreement." Minister Henry Cooper who had read the proclamation abrogating the monarchy while, according to Samuel Damon, "the rest of us stood trembling inside the building," felt the appointment should go to him. "Ridiculous!" snorted his erstwhile comrades. The claims of Chief Justice A. F. Judd were opposed by "his own crowd," and Norrie cried in mock grief: "Behold our tears!" Francis Hatch, for many years their loyal propagandist in Washington, wanted the office and when he was rejected the *Independent* published a report that "he is threatening to tell something that will make them cringe."

The *Advertiser* offered as its candidates Lorrin A. Thurston for governor and William Armstrong for Secretary of State. "God save us!" cried the *Independent*. Wallace R. Farrington (now editor of the *Bulletin*) wanted his fellow citizen from Maine, Minister Harold Sewell, to which the *Advertiser* retorted, "He is no better than Gibson." But the really heavy artillery of the oligarchy was trained upon

President Dole, whom they were determined should not be chosen because, said one, "he would try to turn things back to the Hawaiians."

"They want to dump him," said the *Independent*; "regret having sent him to Washington where he made a good impression. . . . They will now throw him away like an old shoe. . . . Even the Hawaiians who have so much to forgive him for . . . treat him with more respect than those he led to dishonorable victory."

Two Anglo-Hawaiians sought the appointment: Robert Wilcox and Samuel Parker. Norrie's first choice was the queen, whom he wished to be allowed to rule without the harassments that bedeviled her brief reign. If not the queen, then Joseph Carter, "able champion of Hawaiians." If it had to be a member of the oligarchy, he preferred Samuel Damon to Dole whom he feared would be too yielding under pressure.

In Washington President McKinley appointed a committee of five to draft an Organic Act to be submitted to Congress: Senators S. M. Cullom and J. T. Morgan, Representative R. R. Hitt and, from Hawaii, President Dole and Judge Walter Frear. The oligarchy promptly sent a large group of "observers" to Washington in the hope of getting a form of government to suit themselves. Soon word came back of their attempt to deny the franchise to Hawaiians. Reported the New York *Herald*: "It is not the congressmen but the Hawaiian commissioners who are insisting upon a property qualification for voting." The New York *Sun*, formerly pro-annexationist, now expressed fear that the United States had been taken in by false statements by Island leaders.

To influence future historians, the *Advertiser* began publication of what Norrie called "a bogus history of Hawaii

. . . it may fool the people of the United States but not those of us who lived under the beneficent rule of the Hawaiian sovereigns. . . . Not all of us have lost our memories." Historian W. D. Alexander was then hired to write "the correct story of the overthrow of the monarchy." Phrased in his customary judicious manner, it proved highly unsatisfactory to the oligarchy who ordered it rewritten. The officially approved edition, called *History of the Later Years of the Hawaiian Monarchy*, stated that the queen was overthrown "because of the decadence of the monarchy. . . . pagan orgies . . . the lascivious *hula* . . . and the recrudescence of heathendom," a version to be copied in years to come by students of Hawaiian history.

Sadly, editor Norrie reported the demolition of King Kalakaua's boathouse "around which clusters memories of the glorious days when Kalakaua held royal court there in halcyon hours of pleasure and mirth. . . . But the Vandals and Goths of this new civilization . . . call it a temple of scandal and sin. . . . Soon it will be merely a memory in the minds of the *Kamaainas*."

Under agreement between the Republic of Hawaii and the United States the crown lands were to be given to America in exchange for her payment of the republic's debts and Boston reporter Julius A. Palmer, visiting the Islands, wrote: "The wildest extravagances of the monarchy did not equal the expenditures of the republic. . . . They are piling up an enormous debt. . . . These obligations will go into the national debt of the United States . . . guaranteed at the expense of the American people."

The *Independent* described the wild speculation now going on in sugar stocks: "Those who piously denounced the queen for signing a lottery bill are now promoting the biggest gambling schemes the Islands have ever known . . .

the Kihei Sugar Co. on Maui . . . its land valued at ten to twenty thousand dollars . . . stock placed on the market at three million dollars. . . . The stocks are booming . . . people are gambling like mad. . . . In the end it is bound to blow up; only the original stockholders will win . . . the poor will be milked."

His prophecy was soon to become tragically true.

New plantations increased demands for labor and, despite the promise given the United States that no more Japanese would be imported, thousands were being brought in. The *Independent* listed arrivals: "1,200 Japs dumped in Hawaii yesterday . . . 1,000 more today . . . 6,000 just landed . . . 2,000 yesterday. Americanization to the planters means more money, more sugar . . . 5,000 Japanese last month; 10,000 more on the way. This is Americanization with a vengeance. . . ."

Calling attention to the fact that laborers were being sent straight to the plantations without being given physical examinations at the Immigration Station as required by law, editor Norrie warned of danger from devastating oriental plagues, but his cry went unheeded in the mad rush for gold.

Californians, noting the flood of Japanese into Hawaii, reacted angrily. Said the San Francisco *Call*: "They have violated their pledge to America a thousand times over." Said the *News*: "An American military governor cannot be installed a minute too soon."

Editor Norrie got an unexpected ally in his crusade against "oligarchy tricks" when young Lincoln Loy McCandless, elected to the 1897 Legislature by the PGs, proved to be an independent spirit they could not control. Youngest of three McCandless brothers who came to the Islands from West Virginia in the 1880s, "Link" was of more



vigorous mettle than his older brother James who joined the Reformers and served their government for many years. Lincoln Loy, independent of spirit, free of soul, "wore no man's collar."

In his first legislative session, to the angry amazement of his sponsors, he placed himself unequivocally on the side of the People versus the Oligarchy. His first attack was made against their division among themselves of the Waikiki Beach lands bordering Kapiolani Park. "The beaches belong to the people," he declared; "they should not become the private property of the few." He denounced the giving of public contracts to PG favorites instead of to the lowest bidders; "the looting of Hawaiian estates left by the *ali'i* for their people, by trustees appointed to manage them"; he objected to the expensive junkets of cabinet officials: "Plenty of money for junkets but none for schools, sewers, and needed improvements," he declared.

Roundly denouncing the property qualifications required for voting, he said, "Only 1917 people voted in the last election . . . a disgraceful situation in a land calling itself a republic."

Enraged by this "lack of gratitude" on the part of a former protégé, the oligarchy made no secret of the fact that they would defeat him in the 1899 election, the last one to be held under the laws of the Republic of Hawaii.

Both factions, their eyes on that last election, began to organize early. In every issue the *Independent* urged the Hawaiians to take the hated oath of allegiance that they might be able to vote and thus have the government in their own hands when the Islands came under direct control of the United States. "Vote, dear friends," advised editor Norrie, "sign anything the law demands . . . take all kinds of oaths—with no more thought of keeping them than did

the PGs when they took the oath of allegiance to Queen Liliuokalani. . . . As long as we saw a chance to uphold the banner, we fought, and got jailed for a noble cause. But now the jig is up. So REGISTER, SWEAR, AND VOTE!"

Despite Norrie's pleas, the Hawaiians hesitated, reluctant to sully their souls by taking an oath of allegiance to the despised republic. Other foreigners added their pleas but just as the campaign of persuasion seemed likely to succeed came a signal from ancient times that knocked their arguments flat. First the story of "a mysterious woman in white" who appeared suddenly in front of the attorney general's carriage; the horses reared, lunged, then broke into a wild run, and a fatal accident was narrowly averted. The woman in white disappeared in a cloud of smoke.

She appeared next at the doorway of a poor Hawaiian family and left food. Similar stories were reported daily, each one pointing the obvious moral of threatened danger to a member of the oligarchy or kindness to a Hawaiian. As the stories increased in number and detail even the newspapers took note. Both Hawaiians and foreigners understood the implications: the Goddess Pele had come with a message for her people.

Confident that her purpose and intent would soon be revealed, the Hawaiians waited eagerly, happily. Came another sign—this time unmistakable. From the great mountain of Mauna Loa a deep rumbling, then the heavy odor of sulphur fumes poured out across the land; billowing clouds of smoke and, finally, an outburst of molten lava that poured a fiery torrent down the mighty mountainside.

As always, when her people were in danger, the great goddess had come to assure them that she was on their side!

The interpretation placed by Hawaiians on this symbolic display was that they were not to perjure themselves and sully their free souls by taking an oath of allegiance to the republic. "Pele will take care of us. She will work it out," they said confidently. In vain Norrie begged: "Don't count on Pele's coming to your rescue. . . ."

Taking the oath of allegiance was now out of the question, and not a Hawaiian would budge from this position. Nor was it surprising to them when President Dole was notified by Washington that no elections were to be held in the Islands until after the passage of the Organic Act. So there would be no election, after all! Once again Pele had demonstrated her ability to protect her people.

Before the poetic little island kingdom passed completely into alien hands, the ancient gods appeared once more and, departing, carried home with them the soul of Princess Kaiulani, heir to the now-obliterated Hawaiian throne. While visiting on the island of Hawaii the twenty-three-year-old princess was taken suddenly ill. She was brought home to her beloved Ainahau in the midst of a torrential storm and as the skies wept the old people cried: "It is the sign." Her flame of life was to flicker out simultaneously with that of the kingdom she had hoped to rule.

At dawn of March 6, 1899, Kaiulani's gentle spirit was borne away to join her royal ancestors on the mystic island of *Kane-huna-moku*. The skies wept copiously; the peacocks, missing their little mistress, shrieked their grief; the old people chanted a mournful *kanika'u*.

Said the *Independent*: "Hawaii weeps at the bier of the young *ali'i* . . . Hawaii bows her head and weeps and weeps. . . . Tears are nothing new to Hawaii Nei."

On March 10 private ceremonies were held at Ainahau

for family and close friends. Then at midnight the casket, borne by loving hands, was taken to Kawaiahao Church there to lie in state three more days, surrounded by stately *kahilis* and grieving friends.

On March 13 "The casket was placed on a catafalque topped by a white veiled crown . . . over the coffin lay a pall of golden *ilima* flowers, woven by her adoring friends. . . 'Torches that burn by day'. . . lined the roadway to the Mausoleum . . . people of all races joined with the Hawaiians in mourning for their little princess. . . ."

The torrential rains, which had swept the land for the past week, ceased as the funeral procession started on its journey to the tomb, and as the final prayer was solemnly intoned, a rainbow appeared across the verdant mountain backdrop. Then, for a brief moment, the sun broke through the dark clouds to drop a golden gleam upon the casket "before it was carried into the dim chamber of the Royal Mausoleum."

Said the *Independent*: "Kaiulani's spirit has flown like a white dove to the Elysian fields of immortality. . . . It is all over, and the rain clouds have washed away the footsteps of the mourners; soon the tears will be wiped away from the cheeks of the weepers; but the memory of Kaiulani's virtues will linger on with the brightness of the sunny skies and the fragrance of the flowers she loved so well before she traveled on her last journey. Farewell, little Princess . . . you have disappeared from the midst of Hawaii; gone but never forgotten."

News of Kaiulani's death seemed to stir the American people greatly. Letters concerning it poured in to her family and to government officials from all parts of the United States. One from La Grange, Georgia, addressed to President Dole, said that all American women "resent the way



she was robbed of her birthright." It was signed "The Women of America."

## CHAPTER 36

### Wilcox Fights for Hawaiian Franchise

WARNINGS by the *Independent* of danger from lack of inspection of imported laborers proved tragically prophetic. In angry editorials it reported during January, 1900: "Bubonic plague, introduced by Asiatic laborers, is sweeping the Islands . . . the damning fact is that they were run through the immigration station without being held the required length of time . . . not one bit of luggage was fumigated or inspected . . . and in this way the plague was brought in. . . . The Board of Health must carry the responsibility. . . . May America have mercy upon us and establish a Federal quarantine station here. It is our only hope."

In an effort to stop the plague, the Board of Health decided to burn the Chinatown slum area but the fire got out of hand and before it could be brought under control more than thirty-eight acres of adjacent housing had been destroyed, leaving thousands of the poor destitute and homeless. Historic Kaumakapili Church was a charred ruin. The plague was not stopped, but continued to rage for four months, its toll an uncounted number of deaths and untold misery. "The costs should be borne by those who brought the coolies into the country," said the *Independent*. Much praise was given to Irish-Hawaiian Deputy Sheriff Charles

Chillingworth for services over and above the call of duty to protect and comfort the homeless and hungry victims.

Upon the heels of this disaster came collapse of the local stock market. The inflated sugar stocks with which the Islands had been flooded also, figuratively, went up in smoke. "The bottom has dropped out of Kihei and Olaa sugar stocks," reported the *Independent*, "and the poor investors will go under since they cannot meet the assessments . . . the promoters will pocket the money." And editor Norrie, former foe of annexation, now prayed for the day "when the American form of government has followed the flag."

Meanwhile, a struggle was going on in Washington between congressional partisans of the oligarchy and those who sided with Hawaiians concerning the form of government for the Islands. Commissioners for the oligarchy asked continuation of the property qualification for voting; appointment by the United States President of the governor, also the delegate to Congress, and a permanent territorial form of government. Statehood, they said, was not wanted nor would it prove desirable for either the Islands or America.

Those members of Congress who had placed themselves squarely on the side of the Hawaiians were now aided and abetted in their fight by the redoubtable Robert Wilcox who had slipped quietly out of Honolulu and taken up residence in Washington, his expenses paid by Lincoln Loy McCandless and a group of wealthy Chinese.

Established also in Washington was Queen Liliuokalani who, said the newspapers, "holds court in her beautiful home on Sixteenth Street where she is exceedingly popular

with members of Congress." Newsmen called her "gracious, cultured . . . intellectual, and philosophical."

To friends in Hawaii, Wilcox wrote: "The queen has dropped all politics and is happy to have gained the sympathy of Congress and the American people. She loves more her people, than sorrows for her own misfortunes." On arrival in Washington Wilcox said to newsmen: "We Hawaiians have confidence and trust in the justice of the American people. We believe they will not wish to wrong us."

The *Washington Post* described him as "a splendid specimen of the *kanaka* race, erect, raven black hair, perfect teeth white as pearls, speaks English, French, Italian fluently . . . a sincere champion of his people." Others, praising his "graceful mannerisms, his air of culture and refinement," were pleased to record "his father is an American."

Joining Wilcox in Washington to assist him were Edgar Caypless, a New York lawyer, and the irrepressible Caesar Moreno of Italy who, over the years since he was forcibly deported from Hawaii, had waited for his moment of revenge. Now was his golden opportunity, and while lawyer Caypless spoke judiciously of the wrongs against Hawaiians, Señor Moreno talked in florid phrases of "the missionary holdup in Hawaii." Newsmen described him as a dashing, dramatic personality, "an intellectual with high forehead, handsomely defined features, and deep-set eyes."

Wilcox, who had been prepared to fight against strong odds, was surprised to find so friendly a Congress. To his supporters in Hawaii he wrote: "God is with us in our fight! Many congressmen are on our side and they tell us not to worry about Thurston & Co. They say the American people are on our side—not that of the Missionaries. One of them

said, 'We want to break their power as much as you do.'"

The American public's support was soon evident in letters that came pouring in to him, and to those congressmen who were demanding that the Hawaiians be treated generously. One to Congressman Stewart of Wisconsin from F. J. Finucane, ardently defending the Hawaiian cause, was typical of many from all parts of the country urging that Hawaiians be given whatever they asked "to make up to them for any unhappiness Americans have caused them . . . treat them like real Americans."

Again Wilcox reported to his people at home: "We have nothing to fear from the Americans; they are genuinely good people—not pretenders. They will protect us always." Lobbyist Gorham Gillman reported to the PG leaders: "Unthinkable as it may seem, Washington seems to be listening to Wilcox . . . he is doing everything in his power to stop limited suffrage. . . . I am trying to check his influence."

Wilcox asked, and received, permission to address the Committee on Territories, later reporting to his friend J. A. Testa: "They had been told that Hawaiians hated Americans but my appearance and my mild speech, without spiteful language, dispelled all the calumny against Hawaiians. . . . After I had finished speaking . . . the vote to strike out the property qualification for voting was unanimous. . . . We also saved the land of the Mausoleum, which will not be included in public lands but will remain forever a special Hawaiian reservation."

Regretfully, he reported failure to obtain the vote for Chinese: "They are our loyal, faithful friends. I do not know how we could have lived through those difficult years without their support." He did, however, get the voting privilege for the inmates of the leper settlement who were



specifically disfranchised by the laws of the Republic of Hawaii.

"Under the amended bill," wrote Wilcox, "only a poll tax of one dollar will be required for voting, also the ability to read and write the Hawaiian or English language. . . . Rejoice, my people! The Americans are on our side and victory is ours! Now we can have security, freedom, and happiness in the land of our forefathers under the protection of this great American Republic!"

Through the pages of the *Independent* Señor Moreno, with obvious relish, made his report to Hawaiians: "Hartwell, Smith, and 'barber' Armstrong arrived in Washington with much money which they spent lavishly . . . but the money was wasted . . . they soon became ridiculous. . . . Wilcox made a ringing speech on behalf of Hawaiians and Chinese residents of Hawaii. It threw much light on the subject. Then Smith, Hartwell, and their 'barber' spoke, but to no use. Then Caypless spoke, his eloquence warm, his logic stringent. . . . "I spoke in my customary fearless manner. . . . The revised bill, changed to the wishes of Wilcox and myself will . . . protect the Hawaiian lamb from venal tyranny of their oppressors . . . transferring political power from them . . . to the Hawaiian people. HAWAII FOR HAWAIIANS! C. Moreno."

The rejoicing of Hawaiians was not shared by the PG press. Declared the *Advertiser*: "The striking out of the property clause places power in the hands of . . . haters of things American. . . . Congress has mangled the labor law . . . in sheer defiance of our best interests. . . . It is an impertinent bill . . . it would be like them to add to their impertinence by sending a carpetbagger as governor." Then, as a last consoling thought: "At least our sugar can never be removed from the tariff free list."

Said the *Independent*: "The oligarchy will be snowed under politically for good and forever . . . well, they asked for annexation. Now they've got it!" The Hawaiians were urged to register at once and pay their one-dollar poll tax: "You do not have to take an oath of allegiance to the Dole Government. . . ."

On April 30, 1900, President McKinley signed the Organic Act which made Hawaii an incorporated territory of the United States. Sanford B. Dole was appointed governor; Henry C. Cooper secretary of the territory; the delegate to Congress and the territorial legislature would be elected by the people. Children of Asiatics born after 1898 would be citizens, eligible to vote. Thus, for the present, Hawaiians, by virtue of their numbers, would have complete political control.

With the matter finally settled, the planters ordered Republican and Democratic parties organized, with their own men in control of each. Then, wisely, they set about to woo the Hawaiians; also the Portuguese and other foreigners unfriendly to them. To Hawaiians they promised jobs at good wages; the Public Works Department dismissed Orientals wholesale, replacing them with Hawaiians who were told that, in return, they must vote the straight Republican ticket. Advised the *Independent*: "Take the jobs—then vote for your own men and the jobs will still be yours when the election is over."

On June 5 Queen Liliuokalani and Robert Wilcox returned to an uproarious welcome. Questioned by newsmen as to which political party he would join, Wilcox said: "I see no reason for Hawaiians to join either national American party. We do not vote on their problems; ours are entirely different. I am for home rule myself."

Alarmed, the PG newspapers warned Hawaiians that to

form an independent party would be "to turn against America . . . which will take away your right to vote." Replied Wilcox: "Nonsense! Americans are not like that. They are good people, not hypocrites."

Still worried, the *Advertiser* moaned: "The Hawaiians are out for revenge." Said the *Star*: "They are threatening to draw the color line." The *Bulletin* warned: "If you vote on racial lines the franchise will be taken from you." But the *Independent*, calling attention to the large number of *haoles* lined up with Hawaiians, said "No racial line is involved." Again Wilcox reminded his countrymen: "America is ruling us now and true Americans do not do things like that. They are honest, just people."

A group of Hawaiians sought the advice of the queen who said: "Dear friends—when our flag went down it went down for good. What we see with our own eyes we cannot deny. All we can do now is become good citizens and trust to their honor to be fair with us."

Still the Hawaiians hesitated, unwilling to join any political party sponsored by those who had overthrown the monarchy. "They are both PGs in disguise," said Mr. Kona. Wrote editor Norrie: "Hawaiians may not figure out a thing logically but they have a true instinct for moving in the right direction. . . . The pole star of their desires will lead them eventually to control of their country."

On June 14 Sanford B. Dole took the oath of office as first governor of the Territory of Hawaii. A tall (six feet two), aristocratic-looking man with soft brown eyes, gentle manner, and a fine philosophical mind, he asked in a voice filled with affectionate concern that everyone "allow the political irritations of recent years to disappear in the shadows of the past and, turning to the future, join hands in the creation of an ideal commonwealth out of our com-

plex conditions. . . . We love the Hawaiian flag for the memories of the past, but now let us look to the American flag as our guiding star, our hope for all time."

Sincere friends of Hawaiians rejoiced at the spirit of his speech, agreeing that he was the one person who could "heal the wounds."

In an effort to draw Hawaiians into the Republican Party the PGs persuaded popular Anglo-Hawaiian Samuel Parker to run for delegate to Congress. But the Hawaiians as a whole were not willing to follow even the greatly loved "Cowboy of Waimea" into the Republican fold. The *Hui Kalai-aina* called a meeting to discuss the matter. Robert Wilcox advised an independent party: "Let us stick together and work for the good of Hawaii Nei. Then we will be good Americans like the American people want us to be."

German-Hawaiian John S. Wise spoke: "I was imprisoned because I was a true Royalist. But the cause for which I was imprisoned is no more. Now, as true sons of the soil who first inhaled the *maile* perfume, we hesitate about what to do.

"If we linger with tears and distress yet awhile, if we falter at this crossroads of our life and look back with longing farewell to the idol of our hearts—our Hawaiian flag; if we think of the ease and pleasure of our once-contented homes before we choose which road to take—for this are we to be called un-American? I do not think the American people would say so.

"We have been bullied and threatened that if we did not join a political party we should lose our franchise. We were disfranchised for seven years, but today, thank God, we can say 'I have the right to vote.' I thank the American people for this privilege."

He closed with a fervent: "Today, my friends, I am born



anew. I am proud to say I am an American and I shall be as staunch an American as I have been a Royalist."

Hawaiians' celebration of July 4, America's natal day, gave further evidence of their acceptance of the new nationalism. At a public meeting, planned by themselves, a youthful orator, Abraham Kaulukou, spoke with warmth of the country to which they now paid homage: "Let us replace our cry of Hawaii for Hawaiians with a truer statement—Hawaiians for Hawaii! as we work together for the good of our Islands and the glory of our new protectors." Said the *Independent*: "The former fury of patriotism of the PGs has suddenly subsided. The Hawaiians now lead in patriotism."

After much debate and soul-searching many leading Hawaiians joined one or the other American political party. With the Republican delegates to the national convention in Philadelphia went Samuel Parker and Charles B. Wilson. With the Democrats to Kansas City went Prince David Kawananakoa, John Wise, and John Holt. Prince Kuhio Kalaniana'ole, refusing to join either party, departed with his wife for a trip around the world.

John Lane decided to join the Republicans while his still-rebellious brother Lot Kamehameha joined the Democrats. Young John Wilson, protégé of Queen Liliuokalani, went into the Democratic Party with Prince David who had agreed to head their ticket as candidate for delegate to Congress. But a great many Hawaiians still hesitated to join either party.

The *Hui Kalai-aina* asked Robert Wilcox to address them again and this time they decided definitely to form a home rule party with him as leader.

Aghast, and fearful of Wilcox's magnetic power over the people, the PG press let fly their sharpest shafts of ridicule.

"Our Garibaldi" the *Advertiser* jeered. They cartooned him as "Robert, the noblest Garibaldi of them all; hero of a dozen revolutions and *luaus*." Should he become delegate to Congress, they warned, "bankers would refuse to lend money to the Government."

When the campaign opened, the *Independent*, ardent supporter of Prince David for delegate to Congress, was too wise to attack the popular Wilcox but concentrated on praise of the prince: "He is not a *luau* party man but there is no more loyal, faithful friend of the race than Prince David. . . . And do not compare his eloquence with that of Wilcox. He is a modest *ali'i* who cannot boast of his claims, but he is a worthy representative of whom we can feel proud."

Editor Norrie endorsed also three foreigners running on the Democratic ticket: Joseph Carter, Samuel Damon, and Paul Isenburg: "Do not defeat such loyal *haoles* as these," he begged.

The Democratic Party was comfortably financed, but the coffers of the Republican Party were overflowing, one Maui planter alone reportedly contributing \$50,000. And the Hawaiians were now treated to the amazing spectacle of those who had reviled the *hula* as "a form of bestiality," chanting as "barbaric vulgarity," and strong drink as "the besetting sin of the heathen," sponsoring all of these in an effort to get their votes.

All *hula* dancers and chanters in the Islands were bought up for the Republican campaign and gin flowed like water on all occasions. "Republican *luaus* and gin joints go merrily on, financed and endorsed by the pious leaders," wrote Norrie. "They even allow Hawaiians to sing on Sunday!" Selecting Hawaiian-Chinese William Achi to lead Hawaiians into the Republican fold, his home was made the scene

of endless *luaus* and stocked with gin to be served at all hours.

Each Hawaiian who signed Republican rolls was given a new suit and two dollars, with promise of eight more after election if the Islands went Republican. Each precinct leader was given \$250 with promise of an equal amount if his precinct went Republican. Reported the *Independent*: "Hawaiians now wear fine clothes, money jingles in their pockets, and they boast of high living on Republican money. . . . They are feasted and kept on sprees as long as they care to. . . . We are glad to see so much money going into Hawaiian hands . . . but the donors will lose in the end."

The Democratic campaign was conducted with royal overtones, their emblem the insignia of *pulo'ulo'u* and *kahili*. Lacking the unlimited funds at Republican command, social events were few but staged with beauty and dignity. Their campaign opened with a *luau* for 3,000 given by Prince David at his Waikiki home. Thereafter Democratic meetings were often held in the opera house.

The Home Rulers, lacking funds for *luaus* and meeting halls, assembled in small groups in private homes and public parks. Nevertheless, the promises made by Wilcox became widely known, his first pledge being payment of claims to all those imprisoned in the revolt of 1895. He promised protection of Hawaiian rights in the Queen's Hospital: "The royal deed providing free treatment for all Hawaiians is not being fully carried out—just as Gibson warned." He promised to "inaugurate suits against those now in possession of crown jewels, King Kalakaua's personal belongings, Queen Liliuokalani's private papers stolen from Washington Place, and all the things taken from the palace when they overthrew our queen."

The PGs, thoroughly alarmed by these threats, grew positively hysterical when Wilcox promised that immediately after election he would “demand a complete accounting of all moneys spent by the Government since overthrow of the monarchy.”

Screamed the *Advertiser*: “They will have no legal right to go back and demand an accounting of moneys already spent. . . .” Forthwith the oligarchy ordered all of their newspapers to step up their attacks on Wilcox.

Chortled the *Independent*: “They fear the chickens that may now come home to roost! . . . The thought of election day and what it may bring is becoming a nightmare to the oligarchy. . . . Well, they asked for annexation!”

## CHAPTER 37

### “We, the Hawaiian People!”

SEETHING excitement marked the last week of the first political campaign under American rules, with interest centered in the three candidates for delegate to Congress. Featured in Hawaiian politics for the first time were partisan ribbons, buttons, posters, nightly torchlight parades, and *luau*s with entertainment.

The Republican press reported jubilantly on the size of their meetings, the *Advertiser* calling them “monster,” the *Bulletin* “mammoth.” The *Star* predicted a Republican landslide: “The followers of Garibaldi . . . are whistling to keep up their courage.” Crowed the *Bulletin* happily: “They are flopping, flopping, flopping to the side of Parker and prosperity.”



The Government ordered into action on the side of Parker all government employees, the entire police force, and the Government Band. Scores of *hula* dancers and musicians, wearing gold pins engraved with Parker's name, were in attendance at all Republican meetings and at the endless succession of *luaus*. Present also was a large paid clique to assure noisy approval of everything said and done—an unnecessary expense, thought editor Norrie, since the show itself was sufficient to inspire spontaneous applause.

Undaunted by the fact that authentic royalty was present in the campaign in the person of Prince David, the Republicans appropriated all symbols and omens of royalty: torches; prophetic rains, winds, rainbows. "Just too, too royal Hawaiian!" observed the *Independent*. In addition to these elaborate accessories there was the fantastically glamorous Colonel Parker himself whose mere presence guaranteed a crowd. Magnificent of stature, regal in bearing, gracious in manner, and spending his great fortune always with lavish hand, no man in all the Islands was more dramatically impressive than the popular, handsome widower. "As a ladies' man," said the *Independent*, "he is a complete success."

Playing upon the concurrent hero worship of Theodore Roosevelt in America, the PGs touted Parker as "Our Teddy—The Cowboy of Mana." And even those who opposed his candidacy were forced to admit that he was a picture to stir all hearts when, dressed in white, he rode through the streets of Honolulu on a coal-black charger, himself and steed bedecked with flower *leis*. Special attendants upon him were forty young gallants of the Smart Set picturesquely costumed as Rough Riders and led by handsome young Walter Dillingham. When they rode forth

along the highways people came from miles away to see the most brilliant cavalcade since the days of King Kalakaua.

Democratic meetings, smaller, were in a manner unmistakably royal. "Hoopla," said the *Independent*, "is not a part of the true *ali'i*." Their campaign opened with an all-island tour by Prince David and a small entourage with all the formal ceremony of a royal progress of old. A tour of the island of Oahu via the windward villages was a dramatic climax. When they reached famed Pali Pass in the mountains back of Honolulu they were greeted by more than one hundred men and women on horseback who followed them, singing, down the green valley to the Royal Mausoleum "where the fine voices of the singers rang out in solemn salute to the royal dead."

That night at Queen Liliuokalani's beach home at Waikiki was held a political gathering totally unlike others in this greatly changed Hawaii. True to the *ali'i* code, Prince David had forbidden his followers to speak ill of opposing candidates, saying, "They are all my people." Wrote editor Norrie: "Prince David sang sweetly, tenderly, but," he added with infinite sadness and regret, "the times are otherwise. Feeling is too intense for that sort of thing now."

Meanwhile the Home Rulers under Wilcox, their ticket filled with Hawaiians from top to bottom, had been slowed by lack of funds. Their meetings were small, attended mostly by women and children while the husbands, as was frankly admitted, "go to Republican meetings to get the money." At no time did Wilcox speak ill of Prince David nor of Parker, though losing no opportunity to remind his listeners that the Republicans were "snakes—PGs in disguise." Lacking money to pay for meeting halls, Home Rule

gatherings were held in public parks. Present always was Wilcox's eighty-five-year-old father, American-born William Wilcox, whose pride in his son was boundless.

Beginning his speeches with the time-honored: "Hear me, oh, my people!" Wilcox spoke swiftly, reminding that "with America on our side we can now break the chains fastened upon our land by our enemies." He recalled the ancient Hawaiian proverb: "When the winds and rains come, the stones on top roll down while those at the bottom remain secure. So it is with us, O my people. We are the *makaainana*, the people of the soil. We are the ones who will always survive. Let us never forget that we represent the Land—the only living thing; the Mother that never dies." And in closing: "Stand firm! O ye nation! Stand firm for the candidates of the Home Rule Party!"

On the platform by his side was placed a wooden calabash and at the close of each meeting when the people came forward to drop into it their pennies, nickels, and dimes, Wilcox would take each one by the hand and say: "God bless you! Your pennies are dearer to me than the millions of the rich."

One night in Kakaako there appeared on the platform with him his wife, the dramatic high-born Theresa Owana Kahekelani, who as a child had lived at the court of Kamehameha V whose chamberlain was her father. Born with the grand manner and a brilliant though erratic mind, she was as unorthodox and temperamental as her husband. At the close of his speech she stepped to the front of the platform and chanted an ancient *oli* in a rich, powerful voice. The crowd went wild with joy. Soon other Hawaiian women joined the campaign as speakers and as action mounted all islands reported: "The Wilcox forces are tearing down Republican fences beyond repair."

Yet the problem of finances was still unsolved. Only on the island of Maui, where planter Henry Baldwin was said to have donated generously in return for promise of his own election to the Senate, did the Home Rulers have sufficient funds to hire halls for their meetings. During the closing days of the campaign rainstorms lashed the Islands and while the Republicans were safe and dry in the large government drill shed, and the Democrats in the Orpheum Building, the Home Rulers stood loyally in the rain to hear their speakers promise that "under the protection of the great American people we will come into our own again."

The *Independent*, after covering one such meeting in Emma Square where despite a drenching rain not one person left nor one speaker faltered, reported: "We must admit that their organization beats anything here. . . . We oppose Wilcox because of his unstable nature but, misled as his followers are, they know how to do politics. . . . There is a certain feeling about Home Rule meetings . . . that beats anything the Islands have ever seen before. The Hawaiians know and appreciate the value of suffrage—the value of the freedom it brings."

In the closing days of the campaign two events of import occurred. On November 3 Wilcox joined the Catholic Church, the largest religious group in the Islands. On November 4 the Home Rulers held their first *luau*, reportedly paid for by Queen Liliuokalani. When she appeared briefly to say *aloha*, the applause was tumultuous. Said the *Independent*: "The betting on Wilcox rises—no odds asked." Amazed that the Republican press appeared totally unaware of what was taking place, editor Norrie concluded: "They must have been drinking too much of their own gin." Personally preferring the election of Prince David but facing truth frankly, he admitted the presence



at Home Rule meetings of “a peculiar quiver of life—as if something was being born.” Wisely he concluded: “It is democracy.”

As election day drew near dissension arose in Republican ranks when William Achi, one of their top workers, charged that the party’s efforts to defeat Lincoln Loy McCandless, one of its own candidates, was injuring the entire Fifth District ticket: “They are paying only \$50 a vote here while offering \$100 in the Fourth District.”

Final comment by the *Independent*: “The Republicans promise that if elected they will never allow an Asiatic to hold any job that a Hawaiian wants. The Democrats say: ‘Elect us and we will see that you get high wages and plenty of work.’ But the Home Rulers promise: ‘Vote for us and we will see that you get such high wages you can afford to pay a Japanese to do the work while you stand by and boss him.’ Now who do you think the Hawaiians will vote for?”

On the last night the Republicans planned a meeting to be followed by “a monster torchlight parade.” Several Hawaiians were scheduled to speak on the subject: “Republicans are our best friends.”

As always the crowd was tremendous; there were musicians and *hula* dancers galore; when Parker, handsome in white suit and yellow *leis*, rose to speak, he was given an ovation. But, reported the *Independent*, his prepared speech telling of his party’s love for Hawaiians “seemed to stick in his throat. . . . It just didn’t ring true. . . . The atmosphere grew chilly and when he sat down there was a mere spattering of applause. . . . The Hawaiians simply don’t believe they are loved by the oligarchy.”

The next speaker, also a Hawaiian, “suddenly developed a sore throat and couldn’t speak”—as did the next, and the

next. "Finally George R. Carter, one of the oligarchy candidates, had to carry the ball. The audience seemed bored."

The Democrats held their last meeting in the Orpheum Building on a stage decorated with royal *kahilis* and a profusion of flowers. One of the most impressive speakers of the evening was Hawaiian Mrs. James Campbell whose husband, dying a few months previously, had left his wife and children "the sacred trust of being true to Hawaii and Hawaiians," a trust she was amply fulfilling. The meeting was conducted with restrained emotion. Again editor Norrie noted "that pervading sense of sadness."

The Home Rulers held two meetings on that last night, one in the grounds of the Kaumakapili Church, another in Kakaako near the water front. Both were highly emotional, with all speakers expressing "faith in God and the great American people." All speakers wore red *leis*, the color chosen to represent "the lifeblood of the people." To cheering audiences Wilcox repeated his confident belief that "we are the ones the American people love. We are the ones they will protect."

The *Independent's* final warning to Hawaiians: "Be on your guard to see that you are not tricked out of your chance to have a voice in your government. That is worth more than money. Take their gold—but vote as free men. *Don't* take any of their gin!"

That they were following his advice was apparent on election day for not one Hawaiian showed up drunk at the polling places. They arrived early, voted quietly—and filed out of the booths looking exceedingly pleased with themselves.

The noon edition of the *Bulletin* reported that first to appear at the polling places were "Parker workers who are putting Hawaii in the Republican column as fast as they

can push in the votes." The *Star* predicted a landslide for Parker. The *Advertiser* headlined: "The Republicans will win!" And again the *Independent* marveled that they comprehended so little of what was going on among the people.

Republicans and Democrats had made elaborate provisions for receiving election returns. Home Rulers had none. But by dawn of the following day a large group of them gathered at the blackened ruins of Kaumakapili Church and offered prayers. Wilcox warned them not to accept as final any reports "until our carrier pigeons come in from the outside islands." Everyone then went down to the corner of Bethel and King streets to watch the bulletin board for news.

Morning *Advertiser* headlined: PARKER SWEEPS OAHU—WILCOX BEATEN—MONARCHY DEAD AS A HERRING. An editorial called Wilcox "A dirty bird," and a cartoon depicted Parker as a rooster crowing over the other candidates.

Clarioned the *Star*: "Sam Parker is safe . . . Wilcox hopelessly beaten. . . . We can breathe easily now. . . . The vote is the end of Wilcox."

Chortled the *Bulletin*: "Parker's plurality over 200 on Oahu . . . Kauai solidly for Parker. . . . Chances good on Maui. . . . Waikiki goes for Parker."

Mused the *Independent*: "Let's wait for returns from the outer islands."

Soon the telephone messages were coming through; carrier pigeons arriving at designated places. Both modern and ancient methods brought the same report: "Kauai . . . Maui . . . Hawaii . . . Molokai. . . . Home Rule ticket wins from top to bottom . . . Pele votes for Wilcox! . . . The lepers on Molokai cast solid vote for Wilcox. . . .

The cowboys on Parker's ranch vote straight Home Rule ticket!"

On and on throughout the day the same reports. Except for a few legislative seats on Oahu and Senator Baldwin on Maui, the Islands, from northernmost Niihau to southernmost Hawaii had gone Home Rule! Sullenly the *Advertiser* admitted: "Wilcox is it." "Something went wrong," surmised the *Star*, "but no use wailing. It's happened, it's over. . . . It is plain to see who has the power now . . . and we must make the best of it."

The *Bulletin*, making no mention at all of the election on page one, editorialized that Wilcox's strength came from "the accumulated resentment against the six-year rule of the republic." Praise was given to Prince David's campaign "which reflected credit to the good name of the young man and the ancestry he represents."

Said the *Independent*: "We think it was a mistake to elect Wilcox but the principle of protest has been decisively won. . . . The election is over. . . . Neither money nor threats can swerve the Hawaiians from the path of love for Hawaii and *aloha* for their race."

"We are now into the twentieth century and," mused philosophical editor Norrie, "I wonder how history will classify the events of the past century."

## E MAKOU KAMAAINANA (We, the Hawaiian people)

As twilight settled over Honolulu a great concourse of people was seen converging upon Kaumakapili Church. By wagon, by horseback, by carriage, by foot they came, their numbers running into thousands. All were well dressed in



colorful new clothes: "Republican clothes!" All were in joyous mood: "Home Rule happiness!" All were united in love for their queen who always placed the welfare of her people first; for Robert Wilcox who had fought for their rights in Washington and, last, but by no means least, they were united in their love for the great American republic which had restored their rights as free men. "America and Hawaii Nei together in our hearts!"

On a torchlit platform erected in front of the scorched ruins of Kaumakapili Church stood Robert Wilcox, on his right the radiant Theresa, on his left his proud father. The air vibrated with laughter and music as the people, arms filled with *leis*, swarmed upon the platform to offer flowery tributes to the hero of the day while the milling crowd laughed and chanted and danced gay, impromptu *hulas*.

Edmund Norrie of the *Independent*, who had followed their every step with understanding heart, observed: "Those who wore the yellow Republican ribbons during the campaign now shouting themselves hoarse for Wilcox. . . . Earnest men and women gathered to pay tribute to the man they chose to represent them. . . . Such rejoicing was never seen before."

After an hour or so of revelry Wilcox raised his hands for silence and as the multitude quieted, there, before the blackened ruins of a Christian Church, destroyed in a mad rush for gold, he prayed to the Christian God, his faith rising like the fabled phoenix from the ashes of disillusionment as he pledged his people's loyalty to Him who had protected them, and to His instrument, the American people.

Then, as 600 torchbearers lined up to lead the way, Robert and Theresa Wilcox stepped down from the platform and headed a parade of their loyal followers in a

triumphal march such as the Islands had not seen since the days of Kamehameha the Great. Through city streets lined with well-wishers of all races they marched, out over the plains and on to Waikiki, their steps falling in unison with the drumbeats of the musicians, their voices filling the clear night air with gloriously happy song.

The spirit was wholly Hawaiian. Not that of a Hawaii made weak and fearful by the impact of alien ways and customs but one imbued with the confidence of ancient times as when their Polynesian forefathers had set forth in outrigger canoes across vast ocean wastes to pioneer new homes, a better way of life.

And it was American. Not the America of the imperialist and the “robber baron” but that of courageous men and women who a century ago, with unbounded faith and confidence, had moved westward, singing, across the plains.



# GLOSSARY

PRONUNCIATION: Vowels take the Latin sound and each vowel is pronounced separately. Every syllable ends on a vowel. There are no silent letters. The hamza (') denotes a glottal stop in lieu of a consonant, e.g., ali'i, Hawai'i.

EXAMPLES: [King] Lunalilo (LOO-nah-LEE-loh)  
 [King] Kalakaua (Kah-LAH-kow-ah)  
 [Queen] Kapiolani (Kah-PEE-oh-LAH-nee)  
 [Queen] Liliuokalani  
 (LEE-lee-OO-oh-kah-LAH-nee)  
 [Princess] Kaiulani (Kah-EE-oo-LAH-nee)

AE: Yes; consent. (*a-o-le* is the negative.)

lani Palace was the royal residence only.)

AHA-HU-I O-PI-O-PI-O: Society (*Ahahui*) of Youths (*Opio-pio*).

A-NA-A-NA: A sorcerer's incantation to curse or kill to order.

AHA-HUI PO'O-LA: Society of Stevedores, i.e., *po'o* (heads) bare to *la* (sun).

HA-LE A-NI-A-NI: Gently Beckoning (*aniani*) Home (*hale*).

ALI'I: The nobility.

HA-O-LE: Anglo-Saxon; later any Caucasian.

ALI'I MA-HU: A monastic order of anonymous lay brothers dedicated to custody of sacred images in the *heiau* (temples).

HA-WAI-I NE-I: This Hawai'i; here in Hawai'i. Used only when in Hawai'i.

ALI'I-O-LANI-HALE: House of Chiefs, i.e., the capitol. (Io-

HA-WAI'I PO-NO'I: O Righteous Hawai'i, the national anthem.



- HO-LO-KU: Princess-style gown for women.
- HU-A: Seed, egg, fruitage; thirteenth night (day) of the Hawaiian lunar month, twelfth night after the new moon.
- HU-LA: Dance; variety is infinite, from sacred and formal to casual.
- I-O-LA-NI: Most High; name of Hawai'i's royal palace.
- KA-HI-LI: Standard of a noble family in form of a staff up to twenty-five feet high tipped with cylindrical device of feathers in color and design heraldic; as coats of arms.
- KA-HU-NA: A professional, e.g., *kahuna la-pa-au* (physician); *kahuna pu-le* (priest); *kahuna ka-u-la* (prophet), and so on.
- KAMA-AI-NA: Old-timer.
- KA MO'I: The king. The queen is *Ka Mo'i Wa-hi-ne* (female).
- KA-NA-KA: The people; human beings generally.
- KA-NI-KA'U: Lament for the dead.
- KA-OLO-HAKA: King Kalakaua's heirloom *kahili*. The name means a-resounding-shout-from-a-high-place, doubtless commemorating an event of political importance in the reign of an illustrious ancestor.
- KO-KU-A: To concur; aid.
- KU-KU-I: Indigenous tree (*Alyxia moluccana*) whence nuts for manufacture of torches, oil for stone lamps, and an appetizing relish, *inamona*, by roasting the nuts and grinding them in red salt.
- LA-NA'I: Veranda.
- LE-HU-A: Indigenous forest tree (*Metrosideros polymorpha*), the red pompon blossom of which is prized by the Goddess Pele.
- LE-I: Any wreath or necklace, usually floral.
- LU-AU: Native Hawaiian feast.
- MAI-LE: Indigenous vine (*Alyxia olivaeformis*) with fragrant leaves favored for lei making.

- MA-KA-AI-NA-NA: The powerful middle class of ancient Hawaii.
- MA-U-KA: Direction toward the mountains, opposite of *ma-kai*, seaward.
- ME-LE: Cantillated recitative historical chant like the Greek *melos*.
- MO-E KO-LO-HE: Illegal cohabitation.
- NA-LA'I-A-EHU: The ancient Polynesian Ehu Dynasty famed for brilliant (*la'i*) and benevolent rule.
- O-HE-LO: Indigenous shrub (*Vaccinum reticulatum*), the red huckleberry-like fruit of which is a favored propitiatory offering to Pele.
- O-LI: A chant of joy; exultation.
- OLO-NA: Indigenous shrub (*Touchardia latifolia*) providing superior fiber for cordage in the application of which to their economy the ancient Hawaiians were exquisitely expert.
- PA-LI: Any precipice.
- PA'U: Skirt wrap-around, waist to knees; in modern times bifurcated, lengthened, for a cross-saddle riding habit.
- PO-I: Hawaiian staff of life; a paste made of steamed corms of *taro* (*Colocasia antiquorum* var. *esculentum*).
- PU-LO'U-LO'U: A six-foot staff tipped with a ball of white *tapa* (in recent times a gilt globe) to designate the presence of royalty.
- PU-NE'E: Enticing; name of the Hawaiian broad, low couch of mats; now any wide couch.
- TI: Indigenous lily (*Cordyline termanalis*) of many uses: sugary root baked underground as a sweet; broad leaves as wrappers for food cooked in an *imu* (underground oven); as decorations and, shredded, to make the swishing *hula* skirt. Also medicinally as a poultice.







Date Due

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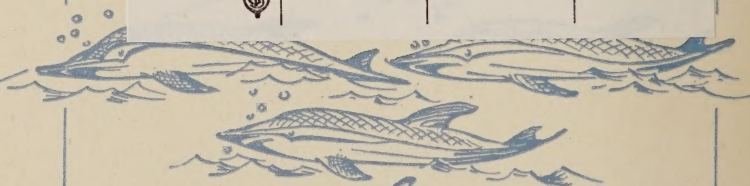
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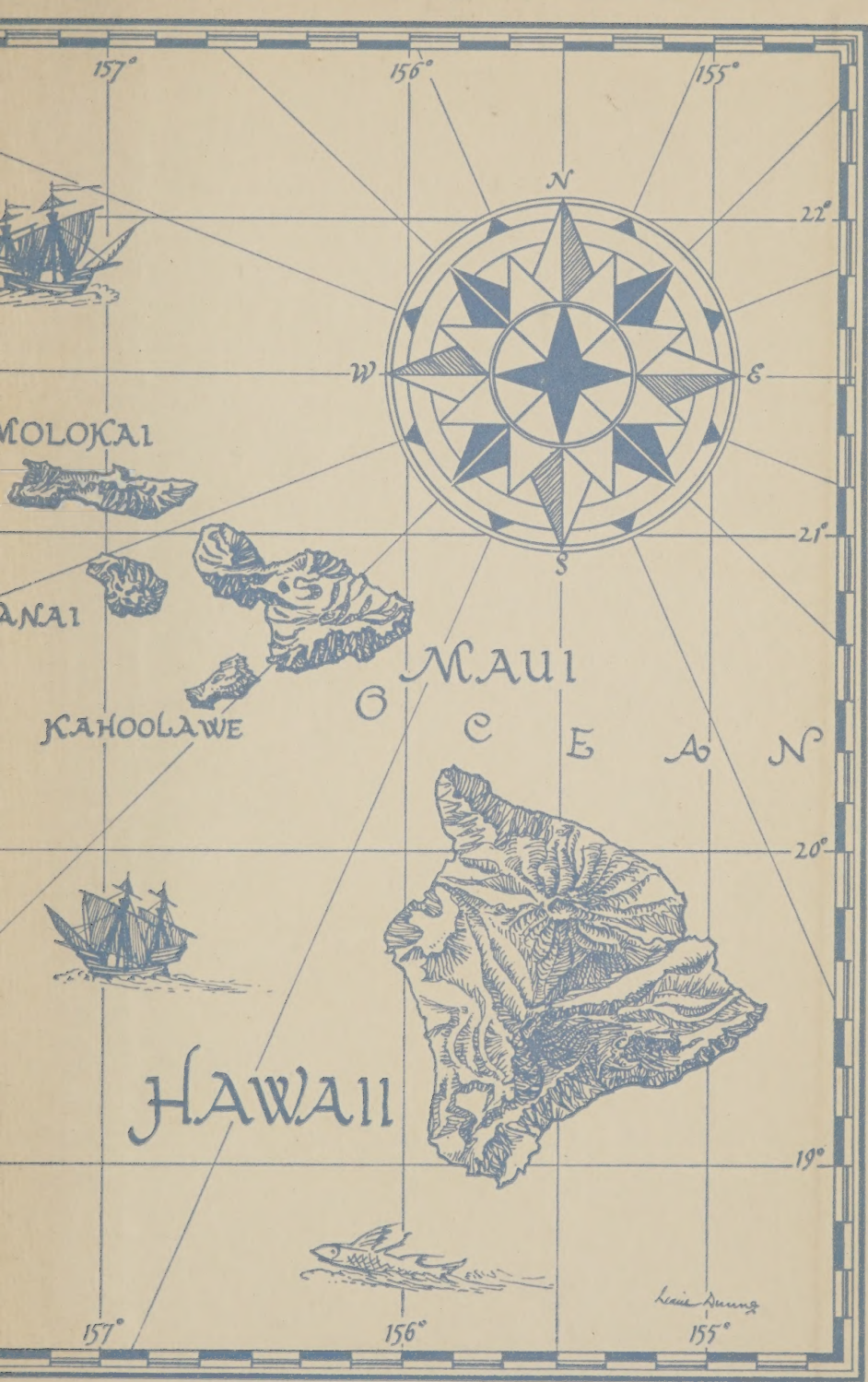
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